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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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20 January 1984

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HUNGER IN AFRICA DESCRIBED

Paris LE MONDE in French 11-12 Dec 83 pp 6,7

[Article by Jean-Claude Pomonti]

[Text] Ten years ago, Africa was ravaged by pitiless drought, which killed hundreds of thousands of people, 200,000 of them in the Wollo province of Ethiopia alone. The lack of rain now, 10 years later, is even more tragic. This time, it is not only the arid Sahel that is hit: so is Southern Africa. Viewed from a different perspective, however, while the victims seem, for the time being, far fewer than in the past, Africa looks less prepared to defend itself, because agricultural production there, over the past 20 years, has lagged behind population growth. This drought may well shatter the fragile equilibrium between the minimum level for survival and mass starvation.

Crops burnt, flocks and herds decimated from the Sahel to Southern Africa: this is a disaster that threatens death to millions.

From the eastern fringes of the Sahara to the once verdant lands of Southern Africa, this continent is caught up in the same nightmare that threatens millions of people. Not all the incantations of the village medicine-men, nor all the prayers of Muslim and Christian can exorcize it. When the rains did finally come this year, they arrived too late to do any real good. Africa has been stricken by the most terrible drought in 10 years. Fields are completely dehydrated. Cattle, gaunt and sick, are dying. The peasants can, at best, sell the hides and perhaps the hoofs, used to make glue. People are dying of hunger.

In most of the 18 states threatened with the worst famine in a decade, food production has dropped by half. In Mozambique, as in Ethiopia, people are starving while, according to the American secretary of agriculture, some 200 million tons of grain pile up in the elevators of rich countries. On the one hand, food production has dropped sharply in the 20 Sub-Saharan African states.

On the other, the world recession has severely limited their ability to import food.

In the absence of adequate emergency aid, "the number of famine-connected deaths may well reach 2 to 3 million over the next 12 months": that was the judgment, a few months ago, of Mr Mayridès, a United Nations official who specializes in African matters. To his assessment must be added the 4 to 6 million Africans "who die each year of sheer poverty." "In any case," says FAO spokesman Raymond, "a fourth of the continent's population -- some 510 million in all -- is malnourished, and the food shortage has brought price increases which help boost the number of cases of malnutrition."

Half the People of Mozambique

This is the third time in 10 years that drought has ravaged Africa. Food problems are aggravated by the fact that the continent's population has been growing twice as fast as farm production. It is in the southern portion of the continent, however, that the drought has been by far the most severe of recent years: the scourge of drought and famine has never reached so far for so long as this since the very beginning of the century.

In Zimbabwe a million head of cattle are threatened with death. Graver by far: the drought threatens almost half the population of Mozambique. The drought has ravaged farms and threatens the drinking-water supplies of cities all over Southern Africa. Zimbabwe, whose grain surpluses only 3 years ago won it the title of "Black Africa's granary," is forced today to seek emergency food aid from the international community. The hardest-hit portion of this country is the Southwest, on the fringes of the Kalahari desert. This is where most of the people getting emergency assistance live.

In Botswana, 300,000 head of cattle died this year. In this country, where cattle-raising has always been a major source of revenue -- beef exports to the EEC in 1982 brought \$118 million, or 45 percent of the value of all meat exports from Africa -- this decimation of the cattle herds aggravates the crop problem, since cattle already weakened or driven to distant watering-holes cannot be used for plowing. The grain harvest came to only 17,000 tons in 1982 -- as against the 50,000-ton harvests in bumper years -- while the national consumer requirements are estimated at 1.3 billion tons.

In the tiny kingdom of Lesotho, an enclave surrounded by South Africa, annual production of corn, sorghum, and other grains has plummeted from 200,000 tons to 53,000 tons. More than 58,000 head of cattle have perished. In all, cattle losses and the drop in agricultural production add up to an overall 30-percent decline in the gross domestic product. More than half the kingdom's population of some 1.2 million souls is affected by the drought.

Grass and Roots

In Angola, as in Mozambique, the spread of guerrilla warfare comes on top of the problems already created by the drought. In Zambia, the starving peasants have been reduced to eating grass and roots, some of which are toxic and reportedly have caused the deaths of seven people. Not even South Africa has been spared the scourge of drought, because that country this year produced only 4 million tons of corn, or less than half its usual harvest. That drastic drop in production has forced Pretoria to import grain for the first time in many a year.

The Bantustans in South Africa -- the "homelands" set apart for Blacks -- are the hardest hit, with half of their people suffering from malnutrition every year, and that record is destined to be even bleaker in 1983, because of the drought. These Bantustans, with their embryonic economies, last summer looked like the Sahel: crops sun-scorched and withered, gaunt cattle, parched and cracked soil, and even the empty stares of babies with swollen bellies. In Kwazululand, thousands of people are on the brink of starvation.

There are reports from these blasted areas of South Africa of a fulminating outbreak of such diseases as pelagra, measles, and tuberculosis. In many places, the peasants have stopped planting in fields that are nothing but dry dust. All too often, they have waited too long to sell their cattle, which constitute the only capital they possess. Typical is Gazankululand, where almost 20 percent of the 400,000 head of cattle died of hunger and thirst since June. Elsewhere, around the same time, starving cattle were going for \$5 a head.

In Bophuthaswana, in the more remote hamlets, women and children spend most of their waking hours in looking for water. At the peak of the suffering, during the summer, they sometimes had to walk kilometers to find water in failing wells and stagnant streambeds. Very often, the water is infested with cholera bacteria.

Brushfires, Cattle Plague...

In the minikingdom of Swaziland, squeezed in between Mozambique and South Africa, the Ministry of Health announced last June that the lack of protein directly caused by the drought had caused the death of 500 children in a single year. Kwashiorkor, malnutrition in its final stages, has appeared in this mountainous country for the first time in its history.

In the Sahel, the most vulnerable region on the continent, the far northern tip of eastern Ethiopia is unquestionably suffering most, since the most pessimistic estimates cite 3 million as the number of people threatened by famine in Eritrea, Gondar, Tigré, Wollo, and Balé. The coordinating Committee for Aid to Drought Victims (CCTA) [8, Rue Gît-le Coeur, 75006 Paris] has just uttered a cry of alarm. A million people, three fourths of them women and children, are, according to its estimates, totally dependent on food

aid from abroad, In this country, which for several years has suffered from chronic food shortages, the situation looks just as serious as in 1972 and 1973, says UNICEF, citing the typical example of the little town of Korem in the Wollo district, which has 7,000 citizens and now shelters 60,000 refugees.

In the upland heart of Nigeria, the most populous nation on the continent, 600,000 people are stricken by the drought, according to the governor of the county, with the drastic decline in crop yields affecting more than a million hectares of farmland. Senegal has just announced that, in the aftermath of the worst grain harvests of recent years, "the food situation is critical," to quote Rural Development Minister Amadou Bator Diop. Senegal estimates that the 1982-1983 grain crop will come to 515,000 tons, as compared with 650,000 tons in preceding years, while the nation's requirements for 1983 had been calculated at 1.2 million tons. In November, Mr Diop reckoned that 20 percent of the beef cattle had succumbed to the effects of the drought.

Still in West Africa, Ghana has informed Benin and Togo that, because of the drought, it would be forced to cut back on the electricity it could supply them. Accra authorities have also warned Ghana's people that the country must get used to long periods without electricity "until the next rains" (due in July 1984), because the water level in the Volta River has dropped to the lowest mark ever recorded. In Ivory Coast, daily cutoffs of electricity -- averaging 2 hours apiece -- have already been introduced, owing to the low water levels in the country's reservoirs. As for Lake Chad, it is at its lowest level in 150 years.

Brushfires, fanned by dry winds, are ravaging Ivory Coast and Ghana. Bovine plague has already reportedly spread to the Sahel, where the manioc harvest has been damaged by a disease carried by insects. "We are living through the worst of the 14-year Sahel drought right now," said Mr Alioune Blondin Beye, Mali's foreign minister, last week. Rough estimates put the grain shortfall in the West African Sahel states at 1 million tons. The Cape Verde Islands, which have been afflicted with endemic drought for the past 10 years, are harder-hit than in the past, since the already scant bean harvest and the millet crop this year barely amount to half those of 1982.

6182

CSO: 3419/292

DONOR COUNTRIES CONTEMPLATE CATCH-22

Paris LE MONDE in French 11-12 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by Marc Semo: "Helping Victims Without Making Them Lifetime Welfare Clients"]

[Text] Rome. -- On 19 October, the Director General of the FAO, Mr Edouard Saouma, sent out a cry of alarm about the food situation in 22 African countries -- particularly the Sahel -- who are victims of a drought at least as savage, if not more so, -- as the one in 1973. "We gravely fear that, overnight, the people of these countries, who number close to 50 million, will be plunged into a situation of extreme economic distress and hunger. There may be the threat of generalized malnutrition, not to say famine," Mr Zaouma warned.

The satellite pictures speak volumes: the green line of vegetation that appears during the rainy season is 150 to 200 kilometers further south than it was last year for the entire Sahel region. In some regions of Mauritania, Senegal, and Chad, the 1982 harvests are running at less than a third of normal.

To deal with this calamity that plays havoc with the traditionally precarious equilibrium of countries which always find it a little harder each year to pay for the food they must import, the FAO is calling for immediate shipment of 700,000 tons of additional food, which would barely cover a fourth of the rock-bottom minimum requirements for next year.

The representatives of the 25 donor countries gathered in Rome for the 22d FAO conference met on 10 November. Some of them have already decided to provide major food aid to support the stricken African countries. The United States has promised \$25 million, The Netherlands \$20 million. Others, like France, have stated that they would move up the delivery dates of their shipments and have promised to increase the shipments for next year.

"The efforts already made by the donor countries are considerable, but they are inadequate, particularly in that the need has risen

dramatically, especially in the Sahel. We are at the end of the fiscal year, and that makes additional contributions difficult, but we hope nevertheless that these problems will come up for consideration next year," ventured Mr Kani Wagner, who is coordinating chief of rescue operations at FAO.

Transport Problems

The first reports from the missions sent to the Sahel countries over the past 2 months and at the close of the rainy season bear out information as to the extent of the drought and its impact on harvests.

While it is vitally important to send food aid, all the problems that stand in the way of getting the food to the areas most in need of it are still there -- generally difficulties of access owing to the lack of roads, but also to the lack of transport. Costs have increased sharply, sometimes almost doubled, as in the case of powdered milk which is shipped in large containers and must be repacked into small cans. On top of that, in order to offset the effects of malnutrition effectively, especially in small children, there can be no question of stopping with an occasional "sprinkling," or doling out dribs and drabs at a time; there must be a guaranteed ration of 10.5 kilos per month per person for several months at a stretch.

Although, in view of the drought, the top priority goes to providing food aid for hungry people, we must also provide them with the means to hold on to their means of subsistence, particularly their cattle, which in Sahel regions are a vital resource. The grazing-grounds there are inadequate and overgrazed: the growth in seasonal migration traffic to the South and the farming areas gives rise to major risks of friction with the sedentary farmers.

Feeding the Cattle

Some way must be found, therefore, to distribute forage so as to keep the cattle from dying or being dumped on an already surfeited market. This is a real Catch-22, particularly in that practically all the available logistics and trucks are already mobilized to get food to the starving people. Furthermore, the by-products of beets, grain, or alfalfa which might be provided by the donor countries as forage take up 25 percent more room than sacks of grain for the human population. For purchases of forage, vaccines, as well as seed-grain, pesticides, and small tools, which are truly first-aid to the agriculture of the threatened countries, the FAO is asking for a contribution of \$76 million.

Aid in the form of food is a means of coping with an exceptional situation. Nevertheless, it embodies some very serious risks in the long term. The lower prices it brings, for example, are beneficial only when they coincide with peak local prices for millet

or sorghum. Regular and sustained distribution of food, however, tends gradually to discourage the farmer from continuing to plant, and encourage him, instead, to go to the city and swell the lumpen-proletariat population of the shantytowns, where food distribution is more reliable. Wheat or corn, which account for most of the mass of the food contributions, are also changing the people's dietary patterns. And the agriculture of these countries will never be able, come what may, to meet this new demand.

The danger, therefore, is that of transforming the recipient populations for international aid into "career welfare clients.

"Fifty-five developing countries, 22 of them in Africa, have not the means to feed themselves, even in good years. There will be 66 of them, 30 in Africa, come the year 2000, unless they can learn, meanwhile, to get the most out of their agricultural potential by moving ahead of and above and beyond their traditional agricultural patterns," says Mr Raoul Dudai, FAO's director of the division for land and water development.

The numbers of inhabitants are growing far faster than arable land and crop yields. The African continent, with 50 percent of its lands arid, is worst off. Only a scant 2 percent of cultivated land south of the Sahara is irrigated. Hence the equally urgent need for development programs: 40 percent of all FAO projects right now are centered on Africa.

Even given the maximum development scenario for agricultural potential from now to the year 2000, nineteen countries, four of them in Africa, could not achieve self-sufficiency. For some of them, such as Saudi Arabia, other resources, such as oil, make it easy to make up their food shortfall with imports. But the four African countries that will not make it -- Rwanda or regions in the Western Sahara, do not have anything to fall back on.

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CSO: 3419/292

ANGOLA

PORTUGUESE PRESS CONTINUES TO REPORT ON CIVIL WAR

UNITA Victories Threaten Regime

Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 29 Nov 83 p 20

[Text] The penetration into Andulo by UNITA guerrillas, reported last Saturday, must be considered the most important military event of the Angolan civil war to have occurred within the last 2 weeks. The war's developments seem to threaten Luanda's Marxist regime more and more. Andulo, one of Angola's newest cities, is located approximately 80 kilometers from Bie (formerly Silva Porto), the capital of the province with the same name.

Significantly, however, the indications of that development and the risks it entails to the MPLA were reported to us by Manual Dionisio, the ANOP [Portuguese News Agency] correspondent in Luanda, and not by some communique from the movement led by Jonas Savimbi. According to Dionisio, "the Benguel railroad that runs across Angola from the coast to its eastern border has never been 100 percent operational since independence. Now, however, the acts of sabotage also extend to the Malanje railroad in the north and the Mocamedes railroad in the south." The same correspondent confirms that overland civilian traffic on the main roads is "systematically ambushed" and "often roads are mined and important bridges destroyed."

This same report from Luanda--consequently, subject to the strict control the MPLA exercises over all types of media--draws an extremely pessimistic picture of the civil war's repercussions on socio-economic life in the People's Republic of Angola. Except for oil, which is in North American hands, Angola's entire economy is in chaos. Coffee production, for example, decreased from 230,000 tons annually recorded prior to independence to about 10,000 tons annually. The foreign debt has grown five fold when compared with 1979. The civil war, which not only prevents the cultivation of land, destroys the system for distributing goods and services and causes people to flee, also consumes more than 50 percent of the government's budget.

Moreover, this impartial report on the Angolan situation confirms "the state of war" existing in most of the nation's provinces. UNITA has repeatedly proclaimed this and it has warned all foreigners to leave those provinces. Spain seems to be the first nation to heed this warning. It has reportedly warned Spaniards who work or preach in Angola of the risks they run by

insisting on remaining in the areas where the guerrillas operate. Spain assumed this position after UNITA accepted King Juan Carlos' request to free two Spanish nuns, Maria Teresa Romero and Julia Montero, who had been detained by the rebels last September.

There continues to be no news of the remaining foreigners (among them several Portuguese and Czechoslovaks) UNITA holds as hostages. Their respective governments have not shown any interest in their fate.

Despite President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' worsening position, he once again categorically refused to hold any talks with the rebels, whom he considers to be "agents of South African imperialism." Dos Santos made these statements in an AFRIQUE-ASIE interview. Pressure from the MPLA's "hard line," on one hand, and the recent reinforcement in Soviet and Cuban aid, on the other, explains the intransigence of Luanda's leaders. Last Thursday, Assistant Foreign Affairs Minister Venancio Moura categorically rejected the suggestion put forward at the Commonwealth Conference in New Delhi to have a multinational force stationed in Angola to replace the Cuban expeditionary force. Meanwhile, contrary to the policy of good relations with the Lisbon government, the MPLA's central committee proposed to revise Portuguese cooperation with Angola. It alleged that "campaigns against the People's Republic are unfolding" in Portugal. At the same time, according to the Brazilian newspaper ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, which is known for its good sources, Jose Eduardo dos Santos reportedly rejected the advice of his Mozambican counterparty, Samora Machel, to establish a "modus vivendi" with the Republic of South Africa.

In an attempt to mitigate the effects of the guerrillas' advances (now reinforced with the capture of Andulo) on international public opinion, the government's propaganda services reported on Saturday several victories over the rebels but they did not provide details. MPLA agents in London also spread around a report that Jonas Savimbi is hospitalized in a British hospital "to receive treatment for serious cardiac and gastric ailments." They also reported that there are great divisions within UNITA, which is said to be in a "desperate" situation.

Few observers will give any credence to this diagnosis of UNITA's condition. This diagnosis appears to be completely unfounded. As of now, we have received no confirmation or denial of Jonas Savimbi's illness. Nevertheless, Savimbi signed the 24 November UNITA communique tearing down Jose Eduardo dos Santos' rationale in the AFRIQUE-ASIE interview and challenging the MPLA to hold free elections in Angola. "If the MPLA wants free elections to be held in Angola now under OAU or UN control, UNITA guarantees it will participate," says the president of the rebel movement. He adds, "The OAU inquiry commission that visited Uige, Luanda, Huambo and Bie in August 1975 established unequivocally that UNITA enjoys majority support in Angola. Its report, as well as the Alvor Agreements, provides a political and legal basis legitimizing our past and present struggle."

"The MPLA will have to think realistically about holding talks or confronting the inevitable," this communique adds. The Angolan liberation movement "is

making an appointment with the MPLA for the end of March 1984 to talk or to fight the final round of fierce physical combat that can still be avoided."

UNITA Advances in Luanda Province

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 2 Dec 83 p 3

[Text] UNITA forces continue their offensive in Luanda province against troops of the communist Angolan regime that are being supported by Cuban and Soviet expeditionary forces. The FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] general headquarters in Alto Chicapa, Luanda, was overrun in an attack that began early Tuesday morning.

This report came from a National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (the Jonas Savimbi led nationalist organization) communique which also reveals that the attack was filmed by a British television crew and followed by an unidentified Portuguese journalist.

The communique adds that 25 Angolan government soldiers were killed and 11 captured during this military action by UNITA. Among those captured were two lieutenants, Ernesto Jamba and Ala. The latter is a member of the Luanda regime's security police.

Two B-10 cannons, three 82 mm mortars and 53 light arms were also seized. In addition, about 500 civilians who lived in the MPLA run area were liberated.

UNITA Takes Andulo City

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 1 Dec 83 p 25

[Text] According to a communique put out by UNITA, Andulo, in central Bie province, was overrun at 5:00 am on 26 November as part of UNITA's overall offensive against the Luanda government. The city fell under the control of FALA, UNITA's armed forces, after 3 hours of fierce combat. Jonas Savimbi's organization also adds that the FAPLA, the MPLA armed forces, left 40 dead on the battlefield: 3 Cubans, 8 Portuguese and 29 FAPLA men. They also left a large number of wounded. There were 5 FALA soldiers killed and 12 wounded. Two Portuguese and their families were captured as well as 18 FAPLA military personnel.

Different types of war materiel were also recovered. A depot was discovered, two electric power plants, a dam and a water tank were destroyed.

MPLA Announces Victories

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 1 Dec 83 p 25

[Text] ANGOP, the Angolan News Agency, repeating government reports, informs in a communique we received at our news desk that "the Angolan armed forces are successfully continuing their military actions aimed at completely annihilating the puppet groups in the pay of Pretoria."

According to what was learned from official sources contacted by ANGOP, "on 16 November, in Bie province, 38 kilometers from the village of Gango, the Angolan army destroyed an enemy camp and freed 20 civilians who had been kidnapped from their villages.

A puppet was killed the same day in Huambo province, 37 kilometers from Bimbe. The rest of the group retreated in disorder leaving behind a 60 mm mortar, two loaders as well as ammunition and uniforms. During this operation, Angolan troops freed 12 civilians the brigands had kidnapped.

On the same day, during a patrol in Kuanza Sul province, Angolan forces liberated 72 civilians and recovered a weapon from the enemy 22 kilometers from the village of S. Lucas. As they continued their patrol, two brigands were killed, 606 civilians were freed, six weapons were recovered and various documents seized about three kilometers further on. Later on, another Angolan armed forces' patrol reportedly freed 15 civilians and recovered one weapon and nine head of cattle in the area of Mussende.

Moreover, reports from Bie province indicate that three brigands were killed, three weapons, 7,800 rounds of ammunition, five RPG-7 grenades, three "dilagrama" explosive charges and three M-79 grenades were recovered also on the 16th during a cleanup operation 42 kilometers from Gango, in the Calucinga vi lage of the Andulo township. Eighty civilians the enemy was holding against their will were also freed. This action ended by destroying completely the hideout of Pretoria's lackeys.

Finally, still on the 16th, Angolan forces fought a puppet group attempting to fix up camp 37 kilometers from the village of Bimbe. One brigand was killed, a 60 mm mortar, two loaders, several rounds of G-3 ammunition were recovered and 12 civilians were freed."

UNITA Gives a Warning

UNITA, in turn, warns in a communique signed by its president: "When the political, military and economic situation deteriorates and the nation is not governed, thus permitting Cuban mercenaries to carry out a scorched earth policy, it is distressing that the MPLA does not know how to get up political courage to indicate the direction to be followed. It is even more revolting when those who claim to lead a great nation that is close to material and spiritual collapse are unfamiliar with its recent history.

With or without AFRIQUE-ASIE," underscores UNITA, "which we had already counted as part of the Soviet disinformation campaign, we want to remind the MPLA, the Soviets, Cubans and all those associated with this repulsive business of selling Angola to the Soviet bloc, of our political and legal reasons for taking this anti-imperialist struggle to its ultimate conclusion. The Alvor Agreements between the FNLA, MPLA and UNITA on the Angolan side and the MFA [Armed Forces Movement] representing Portugal as the colonial power, legitimize the liberation movements that fought against Portugal in an armed struggle. Portugal's representatives did not negotiate with any unarmed movement, when there were 43 of these in 1974. It pains and it has always

pained the MPLA that UNITA was the only movement to fight Portuguese colonialism in the nation's interior that had liberated zones and no rear guard in Brazzaville and Lusaka. It is based on this experience that we are now resolute in winning this dispute. The MPLA turned to the support of Cuban mercenaries when it realized it would lose the elections, had they been allowed to be held. The people who wanted to elect UNITA to political office in Angola are the same people who support the resistance against the Cubans with sacrifices. If the MPLA wants free elections to be held in Angola now under the control of the OAU or the UN, we want to commit ourselves to participating and assure victory as of now. The OAU Enquiry Commission that visited Uige, Luanda, Huambo and Bie in August 1975 established unequivocally that UNITA has majority support in Angola. Its report, as well as the Alvor Agreements, provides a political and legal basis that legitimizes our past and present struggle.

It is the MPLA that does not have the political or legal bases for demanding free elections in Namibia when it knows it is in power exclusively because of the Cuban mercenaries who destroy the land and men in order to keep a handful of renegades serving the Soviets on top.

The current MPLA leadership is unable to give direction to the policies of our nation and southern Africa. It has become responsible for the impasse in the Namibia independence question.

The USSR is going to mobilize all its clients in Africa and the world to denigrate UNITA because the arms and the Cuban expeditionary force were unable to win out over the will of the people. The MPLA will have to realistically consider holding talks or facing the inevitable. UNITA is making an appointment with the MPLA for the end of March 1984 to hold talks or to fight the final round of fierce physical combat that can still be avoided.

Costa Carneiro Commentary

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 1 Dec 83 p 25

[Text] The political-military situation in Angola is becoming increasingly worse. UNITA, the movement opposed to the Luanda regime, is aware of this situation (it is partly responsible for this state of affairs) and it is modifying its policy. This change is being accompanied by an unprecedented offensive which will reportedly end in March 1984.

Recent communiques published by the Jonas Savimbi led movement's respective publications are proof of this. "So long as the Luanda regime does not learn to talk, we will all have to learn to fight."

Meanwhile, according to reports that have reached our news desk, western embassies are stirring. The socialist countries are unloading arms and the most sophisticated military equipment in all the ports to the north of Luanda, including Cacucaco. Reinforcements (Cubans and North Koreans) are also disembarking even in Ponta Negra. They are then transported to Cabinda by

land and from there to predetermined strategic points by air. Civilian aircraft are even being used for this purpose.

Meanwhile, the people suffer. The people literally die for want of bread. This is Franciscan poverty in a country that exports oil and diamonds and which, until recently, was considered one of the richest and most stable countries in Africa south of the Sahara.

The leadership confines itself to hiding behind its insistence "not to talk." It prefers to keep an illogical war between brothers open and heated only because of man's vanity and folly and because a good measure of foreign interests determine this to be the case. Why? To serve whom? On what account? These are the questions frequently heard from the empty mouths of Luanda's residents and those native to and residents of other places where danger lurks every hour, every minute and where for a long time now it has been forbidden to be outside after 8:00 pm.

What interests lie behind all this? Who does it attempt to serve? To what ends, or better yet, with what gains?

Could it be that we will see Angola return to its pre-treaty of London borders?

9935

CSO: 3442/82

FRENCH JOURNALIST VISITS CAHAMA, CAXITO

Brussels LE SOIR in French 13, 14 Dec 83

[Article by Colette Braeckman: "Angola Engulfed in War"]

[13 Dec 83 p 12]

[Text] Cahama, Nov--Beyond the lines in front of the food stores, beyond the military convoys crisscrossing the country and the compulsory mobilization of all young people 18 and over, beyond the refugee camps and the 600,000 displaced persons, it is in Cahama in the southernmost region of Angola that one has to look for the real face of war.

Bullet-riddled walls, collapsed roofs, land pitted by shells, Cahama was stripped from the map in July 1981 by a South African air raid. Although the Angolan Armed Forces (FAPLA) now control the city, Cahama is but a ghost city, where the poems of Jose Marti are scribbled on sections of walls. Moreover, the writings are the only Cuban reminder in the region because Cahama, in the heart of Cunene Province in southern Angola, is exclusively occupied by the Angolan Army.

Trip to the South, a Few Steps From the South African Army

Captain Zumbi, who commands the southern front, explains: "In order to avoid any internationalization of the conflict and direct confrontations between South Africans and Cubans, the latter have withdrawn to within 300 kilometers of the borders, where they form a kind of threshold. Here, the Angolan Army is alone, on the front line. Anti-aircraft batteries are buried in silos; the bush is a labyrinth of trenches and munitions dumps."

Beyond are two-thirds of Cunene Province, occupied by the South African Army which has dug in in the capital of Ngiva. Clashes are almost daily.

South Africans and Angolans

Some 17 kilometers south of Cahama, Angolan patrols furtively led us to a kind of no man's land of ruins and pitted roads that are regularly overflowed and bombed by South African planes and helicopters. Every day, new refugees arrive here, fleeing the occupation, all complaining of being the victims of

exactions by Black auxiliary troops, often of Namibian origin, conscripted by Pretoria's troops. These herdsmen complain that wells in the province have been poisoned, that their huts have been burned and their livestock decimated. Captain Zombi, who is in his third Angolan war (the first against the Portuguese, the second against the FNLA and the UNITA, the third against the South African Army), notes that the situation, relatively static since the South African invasion in July 1981, now risks changing: "Since 10 November 1983, we have observed a great movement of forces brought to the occupied zone. M60 tanks have been brought in, along with heavy-caliber artillery and several battalions of motorized infantry. It is as if South Africa were planning wide-ranging action."

On a table right in the bush, the FAPLA have laid samples of the weapons used by the South Africans: grenades, small winged bombs, dum dum bullets with the end hollowed out and explosives containing incapacitating gases (banned by the Geneva Convention).

Pretoria officially claims that by occupying part of the Angolan province of Cunene (40,000 square kilometers), it intends to bar the way to incursions by the SWAPO and that the deep raids are only aimed at the 5,000 underground fighters trying to win the independence of Namibia. But in fact, the SWAPO refugee camps are much further north and the operations of the Namibian soldiers take place on Namibia's own territory. Actually, it is as if South Africa wanted to keep part of the Angolan territory as ransom and above all, from that enclave, aid the penetration of Angola by UNITA soldiers, Jonas Savimbi's troops who are waging a bitter struggle against the Marxist MPLA, which is supported by Cubans. Last summer, pitched battles took place around the city of Cangamba in the interior. The site was finally retaken by the Angolans and then bombed and destroyed by South African planes.

The Angolan Army, estimated to total 40,000 men and backed by 20,000 Cubans, is facing 10,000 UNITA underground soldiers, who are supplied, transported and advised by South Africans. In recent months, the UNITA offensives, once limited to murderous incursions into the central and eastern regions of the country, have turned into much more sophisticated operations. During the summer, it was feared in Luanda that the UNITA might have the intention of trying to cut the country in two in order to control the eastern provinces from the Namibian border to that of Zaire, including areas where diamonds, Angola's second-ranking resources after oil, are mined. To date, the UNITA has not taken control of any city or town, but it causes insecurity to prevail over two-thirds of the territory, where roads are impassable and the Genguele railroad regularly cut off.

Military Option

Rejecting any idea of negotiating with the UNITA, considered to be a "puppet movement" which, without the support of South Africa, would rapidly weaken or turn into mere ethnic dissidence (the UNITA recruits most of its members from among the Ovimbundu, the majority ethnic group in the central and southern regions of the country), Luanda has manifestly chosen the military option.



Key:

1. Railroad
2. Oil
3. Southwestern Africa
4. Zone occupied by South African Army
5. UNITA zones of action

Both for the purpose of confronting an increasingly aggressive South Africa (for the past 4 years, South African actions have caused damage estimated at over \$500 million) and trying to put down the UNITA once and for all, the Angolan leaders have resolved to employ major means. In Cahama, the FAPLA have new vehicles, sophisticated weapons. In the city of Lubango, Cuban, Soviet and East German patrols march through the city, considered to be a strategic key. Everywhere, new recruits are mobilized and trained and regional military councils, which organize defense and the economy, have been set up in six out of nine provinces. Last summer, President Dos Santos practically endowed himself with full powers to face the situation. Finally, after apparently vacillating for a long time, the Soviets have now decided to give the Angolan Army 12 MI25 helicopters, a formidable anti-guerrilla weapon also used in Afghanistan. Each machine costs the trifling sum of \$20 million, payable in foreign exchange and immediately, as is proper. If the Cubans are practically no longer in the front lines, they remain highly valued instructors because the Angolans feel close to them ideologically and in human terms, but also because with a wage of \$100 a month, they cost infinitely less than the Soviet, Bulgarian or...Portuguese technical assistants.

Return of the Portuguese

The Portuguese have indeed returned to Angola! Several dozen former Portuguese soldiers, veterans of the colonial war (12 years in Africa, one of them emphasizes proudly), veterans of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement and the "Pinks Revolution," have now re-enlisted as technical advisers. They maintain, repair and above all, pilot the French Alouette II helicopters specially adapted for the anti-guerrilla fight.

"Officially speaking, we are only instructors, but in fact, we are doing all the difficult work," they say. And these colonial war veterans add that they cooperate perfectly well with their former adversary, the MPLA, and that they at least know the terrain where the guerrilla warfare takes place! They add, not without nostalgia, that the FAPLA facing the UNITA now have four times more weapons than they did to fight yesterday's colonial army. In fact, it was after the visit by Portuguese President Eanes to Luanda in the summer of 1982 that this military cooperation between Portugal and Angola began. Luanda was disappointed by the Soviets, who had up to then refused or neglected to train special antiguerrilla units. However, since that time, forced to do so, they are bridging the gap.

Confronted with the occupation of part of its territory by South Africa, confronting the repeated aggression aimed at the economic infrastructure (in Huila Province, we saw roads, bridges and factories destroyed by South African bombing) and confronted with the intensification of the war by the UNITA, Luanda has manifestly chosen the military option and is determined to pay the price. But how high it is!

In addition to the 120,000 refugees from Cunene Province, who have fled to enormous camps in the south where local authorities supply them with a minimum infrastructure and land to cultivate, are the displaced persons fleeing the

actions of the UNITA (the "deslocados") and the victims of the drought that ravaged the central region of the country for 2 years. According to international organizations, Angola has over 600,000 interior refugees for whom UNICEF has made an emergency appeal for \$4.75 billion. An undeclared war, the war in Angola is also a forgotten war and the people are short of everything. It is estimated that in central and eastern provinces, which are practically without access, infant mortality amounts to 50 percent of all children under the age of 5, while in Luanda itself, malnutrition affects 15 percent of the population.

"The price of the war is too high," we were told by desperate women in a "muqueque," a shantytown of Luanda, a shabby collection of cardboard and corrugated metal. "The stores are empty; there is no medicine. That is war, but we are going to starve to death."

In fact, defense absorbs 80 percent of the government's budget and 50 percent of its foreign exchange resources. Western sources estimate that while foreign exchange income totals an estimated \$1.5 billion, war absorbs half that amount. Of the remaining \$800 million, \$350 million go to pay back credits (so far a cautious manager, Angola has had to borrow for 2 years) and \$150 million are used to pay the foreign technical assistants who make up for the lack of trained national personnel. The remaining \$300 million have to cover the country's needs, with half going to buy food products.

While war mobilizes the essential energies and resources, it also paralyzes the economy and its political price is becoming heavier and heavier.

[14 Dec 83 p 8]

[Text] Caxito, 11 November, Angola's national holiday, the anniversary of that extraordinary day 8 years ago when the MPLA proclaimed independence in a surrounded Luanda. A South African armored column was no more than 100 kilometers from the capital and the Zairian Army, backing the FNLA, camped some 10 kilometers outside the city. Only the night before, the Cubans had decided to fight alongside the Angolan revolution and their intervention would mark a turning point in the history of Africa. For 8 years, despite the war that had resumed and the current difficulties, the MPLA has not forgotten and before 30,000 members gathered together in the small city of Caxito, where the first mercenaries fighting alongside the Zairians were once captured, President Dos Santos paid fervent homage to the internationalist soldiers. Without giving up cooperation with Western nations, he said he was "ready to consolidate and expand economic relations with socialist countries." In the eyes of observers, the speech marked a new rapprochement with the East and constituted the political counterpart of the increased military aid obtained by Angola.

In the Shadow of Cuban Guns

The Angolan chief of state enumerated the progress of 8 years of independence: 700,000 adults having completed literacy training, 2 million children in school, vaccination campaigns, free medicine, the construction of new housing, mainly by Cuban brigades. The crowd, very calm and very silent, reacted only

once: when the president announced that the ceremony would end with the distribution of sandwiches and drinks. A number of members then vanished, hoping to take advantage of the holiday to procure additional food. For its part, Luanda has scarcely changed in 8 years of independence. With its pastel-colored buildings and old colonial residences, the sumptuous view of the bay, one of the most beautiful in Africa, is as unreal as ever and does not conceal the hideous courtyards or dirty streets, while beyond the colonial old town, the shantytowns have burgeoned as the population of 350,000 has risen to a million. The revolutionary posters and slogans do not obliterate the memory of the empty stores, where the mere rumor of goods arriving causes interminable lines by dawn. For the crowd gathering together in Caxito for the ceremony, as well as the inhabitants of Luanda, it is clear that before thinking about revolution, one first has to eat. And that is no easy matter! The average wages, ranging from 5,000 to 15,000 kwanzas (25,000 for a minister), are regularly increased and in principle allow the people to go to the "lojas do povo" (people's stores), where products are sold at fixed prices and in specific quantities. But not only do those stores offer few goods; above all, in order to have access to them, one has to have a card: work card, party card, organization card. Selection is made, not based on price, but by right of access. Each one has his store: The diplomats have their own, and so do foreign technical assistants, but so too do members of the Central Committee, party members and finally, at the bottom of the ladder, the simple workers, members of the people's organizations. In many enterprises, what counts over work, which is itself undermined by absenteeism, is the card giving access to the store or canteen. Foreign companies try to keep their personnel by increasing the number of benefits in kind. For example, PETROFINA provides a daily meal with meat four times a week, a luxury in Luanda. As for those who belong to no "nomenklatura" and therefore have no card, they have nothing left but the black market. And there, prices defy the imagination: Six eggs cost \$6.00, five oranges 500 kwanzas. While the dollar is worth about 32 kwanzas at the official rate of exchange, \$10 are worth 7,000 kwanzas on the black market!

Bartering

The value of the currency is so illusory and difficulties getting goods so great that monetary trade is giving way to bartering. In the country, peasants refuse to part with products except in exchange for payment in kind and in Luanda, a "convertible bottle of whiskey" is a unit of value as reliable as the national currency!

Several reasons explain this disorganization of distribution: the exodus, on the eve of independence, of 500,000 Portuguese who, even in the most remote areas of the bush, monopolized retail trade; the absence of trained national personnel capable of replacing them; but also the establishment of national companies, lumbering, inefficient machines.

In addition, there is the lack of security caused by the war in rural areas, which prevents crop growing and trade. Coffee production, once an estimated 250,000 tons, now amounts to only 25,000 tons a year.

And yet, the war and the lack of upper-level personnel do not explain everything. The paralysis of the economy and of trade is also caused by a bureaucratic, centralized system that nips any attempt at individual initiative in the bud. Angola actually combines the baroque heritage of the Portuguese administration, a certain African nonchalance and a clerical bureaucracy directly inspired by the socialist model, but which without question beats all records for inefficiency.

Nevertheless, the regime has obvious social concerns, paralyzed by the lack of means. Medicine is free, but there are no drugs. Basic products are sold at fixed prices, but there are few, although 50 percent of all imports are comprised of foodstuffs. This is why the authorities are trying to develop a "green belt" around Luanda.

Minister of Planning Lopo do Nascimento, formerly prime minister, is perfectly aware of the problem. "If we want to win the war," he says, "we have to improve the standard of living of the population, give priority to rural areas so that peasants will want to produce more." He would also like to replace government enterprises by small merchants who would have something to buy and sell. But will the weight of socialist dogma allow him to act? Lopo do Nascimento is not afraid to call himself a revisionist: "I want to revise the living conditions of our people," he says.

The crisis is not without discrimination, however. Not all the people have access to the same stores. Angolans so wishing or, above all, who have the means to do so, can travel abroad and each year receive an annual allocation of \$520, while in the foreign enterprises, many higher-level employees have accounts in foreign exchange abroad.

Furthermore, a new phenomenon can be observed in Angola: Since the reconciliation between Kinshasa and Luanda in 1977-1978, over 300,000 Angolans living in Zaire have returned home. Most of them, instead of returning to their native region, Uige Province, have settled in the capital. They are "squatters" in the houses and buildings abandoned by the Portuguese and, often better trained, have occupied many intermediate-level jobs. They have also replaced the high-level cadres requisitioned by the army and are often the direct rivals of the mestizos and Whites remaining in Angola. Above all, many of them have imported Zairian habits into socialist Angola. The "regresados" are now accused of engaging in speculation on food products and of smuggling to Zaire the rare products available in Angola: medicines when there are any, beer, cars or property stolen from the government and even diamonds, whose production fell 27 percent in 1982, mainly because of smuggling. Nevertheless, the Zairians or Angolans from Zaire living in Luanda seem satisfied with their fate. "It only costs 5 kwanzas to take the bus, but in Kinshasa, I had to cross the city on foot," explains one construction worker, who emphasizes that even if food is hard to find in Luanda, he can still have two meals a day, while in Zaire, "meals were served once!"

The economic crisis caused by the drop in oil resources, representing 80 percent of all foreign exchange, and the lassitude created by an interminable war that mobilizes the best cadres and militants certainly contributes to the demoralization of the population, mired down in daily problems.

The emergency plan drawn up for 1983 gives priority to agriculture and live stock raising, as well as to meeting the food needs of the population. But will it be possible to apply it as long as the war continues?

Whatever the case, the Angolans are less willing than ever to send the Cubans home, even if it is in order to replace them, as some have suggested to them, by African, Algerian or Tanzanian troops. They absolutely reject the American-South African proposal of linking the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops because, as President Dos Santos says, "the following demand would then be to give the UNITA a place in the government and that is out of the question."

The blockage of the situation in Namibia and the intensification of guerrilla warfare waged by the UNITA, as well as the South African threat, can only strengthen Angola's dependency on the socialist camp, which matches its military aid with obvious political -- and even obvious economic -- conditions.

Within such a context, the nonalignment to which Angola claims to aspire is practically an impossible wager.

11,464

CSO: 3419/241

IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL TALKS WITH MINISTERS

LD051832 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 5 Jan .84

[Text] The political director general for Arab and African countries in our country's Foreign Affairs Ministry, who is visiting several African countries at the head of a delegation, yesterday met the Benin foreign minister and submitted a message from Mr Velayati, our country's minister of foreign affairs. He also met with that country's trade, energy, industry and planning ministers. In the course of a meeting with the foreign affairs minister of Benin, who had earlier visited Iran, they discussed bilateral relations, expansion of economic relations between the two countries, international cooperation, reasons behind Iran's refusal to take part in the Morocco summit, the imposed war, Saddam's recent attacks on Iranian cities and residential areas, and the proposal for the Islamic Conference organization to visit these regions. The Benin foreign affairs minister, while making some remarks on the Islamic Conference organization and the role in it of progressive countries, referred to the Iraqi-imposed war upon Iran. He said: We hope that the war will end with victory for the people of Iran.

The Benin trade minister, when meeting with the political director general for Arab and African countries to our country's Foreign Affairs Ministry, said: Through your Islamic revolution you created a motive among countries to defend themselves against conspiracies; therefore, imperialism has brought pressure to bear on you.

The Benin energy and industry minister, speaking at the meeting, said: Iran is an independent and proud country, and Iran's struggle against imperialism has shown the people of Africa and countries of the region how to stand against the pressure exerted upon them by powerful countries.

The Benin planning minister, while explaining possible fields of cooperation between the two countries, said prayers for the Imam ummah's health and long life.

CSO: 4640/82

BRIEFS

EDF GRANTS--A grant of 0.2m. ECU is to provide financing between the already completed cattle farming project in the Sud-Borgou region, financed under the 3rd EDF, and its consolidation and extension in a follow-up project to be financed under the 5th EDF. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2833]

FRENCH DEVELOPMENT AID--Under seven financial agreements signed in Cotonou last week, the French government is to give the Benin government aid totalling 500m. CFA Francs (\$1.22m.) for development projects. The agreement covers rural development projects, health, education, information telecommunications and port projects. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2835]

CSO: 3400/458

RAID BY ZIMBABWEAN TROOPS STRAINS RELATIONS

London AFRICA NOW in English No 32, Dec 83 pp 22, 23

[Text]

Early on the morning of November 8 a unit of the Zimbabwe National Army crossed the border with Botswana north-east of Francistown, accompanied by helicopters and spotter planes. Their mission was to hit the bases of "dissidents," anti-government guerillas operating, the Zimbabwean Government claims, from inside Botswana.

But this time at least they did not find any dissidents. Instead they attacked the village of Maitengwe, 4km inside Botswana, burning six huts and forcing the inhabitants to flee. Even worse from the Zimbabwean point of view, they ran into troops of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). Shots were exchanged before the invaders were swiftly airlifted back to safety.

The Maitengwe attack is the latest of a series of incidents along the Botswana-Zimbabwe border. *Africa Now* received reports of "hot pursuit" missions across the border as long ago as January.

In April the Botswana Government claimed that a group of 21 men, including veterinary officials, had been abducted by the Zimbabwean army. They were later returned unharmed. Then in October Botswana again claimed that Zimbabwean troops had crossed the border. This time they had beaten a village headman and others who did not give them information about Zimbabwean dissidents.

The initial Zimbabwean reaction to the latest incident was to say that it was dissidents who had opened fire on the BDF, not the army. This was for public consumption and could only be sustained because it was not widely known that aircraft were involved.

Behind the scenes there was a frantic rush to repair relations. The Botswana-Zimbabwe defence and security commission met within two days in Bulawayo. Delegations were led by Daniel Kwelagobe, the Minister of Public Service and Information who is responsible for the BDF, and Emmerson Munangagwa,

Zimbabwe's Security Minister.

The official communique was bland enough: the meeting was "frank and cordial" and the issues were resolved "amicably." The Zimbabwean delegation assured their counterparts that the army and air force were under strict instructions never to cross the border. In fact this is something of a retreat from the previous Zimbabwean attitude, which has been that the border is long and undefined and if its troops are attacked it cannot guarantee that they might not stray over it. Clearly the Zimbabweans were embarrassed and wanted to repair the damage quickly.

Behind the whole affair is a long history of strained relations between the two governments. During Zimbabwe's liberation war Botswana was host to guerrillas from Joshua Nkomo's ZIPRA and to thousands of refugees. As with Zambia, ZIPRA's other main base, the attitude of Robert Mugabe's government has been pointedly cool. But when the Zimbabwean Government faced increasing problems from ex-ZIPRA dissidents, Zambia co-operated by turning away Zimbabwean refugees. At one point Emmerson Munangagwa was visiting Lusaka almost weekly to co-ordinate the counter-insurgency effort.

Botswana, on the other hand, maintained its traditional open-door policy towards refugees. When President Quett Masire visited Zimbabwe a year ago, Home Affairs Minister Herbert Ushewokunze told him that he should hand over the "criminals" he was harbouring. Masire's answer was cryptic and unhelpful: he said that the protection of Zimbabwean interests should not endanger those of its neighbours.

The Zimbabweans have maintained all along that the dissidents operate from rear-bases in Botswana. They claim that there exists an organisation known as "Super-ZAPU" which is linked to elements of ZAPU proper and is based at Pikwe in central Botswana. They say that the guerrillas receive South African training.

Relations reached their lowest ebb after the Fifth Brigade was sent into Matabeleland. Several thousand refugees fled into Botswana, three-quarters of them children. But the most prominent, and the one who most angered the Zimbabwean Government, was Joshua Nkomo.

The refugees (Nkomo excepted) were housed in the giant camp at Dukwe, which is run by the Lutheran World Federation under the auspices of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the Botswana Refugee Council. Refugees are allowed to organise politically, but in February Daniel Kwelagobe made a tough speech in which he announced more stringent roll calls and identity checks after reports that some inmates had gone for military training. A BDF unit was posted to guard Dukwe.

This was the beginning of an improvement in relations between the two countries. This was sealed when Foreign Minister Archie Mogwe decided that he wanted to run for secretary-general of the OAU. He offered the Zimbabweans a deal: if they voted for him, Botswana would hand back the refugees they wanted.

And that is what happened. Zimbabwean security presented Botswana with lists of "dissident" suspects who were then repatriated, more than 100 of them.

The two countries also established full diplomatic relations at high commissioner level. Extraordinary as it may seem, since both countries are members of the Southern African Development Coordinated Conference, it took more than three years from Zimbabwe's independence for them to do this.

By the time Mugabe made a state visit to Botswana in August relations were much improved — if not exactly warm. Masire and Mugabe's joint communiqué said: "With regard to security, they expressed satisfaction with co-operation between the two countries and undertook to ensure that any elements bent on destabilising either country are dealt with."

At the OAU summit in June, the election for secretary-general became deadlocked between the candidates from Gabon and Mali. This was Mogwe's chance. But Botswana's attempt to push him forward as a compromise candidate failed and no secretary-general was elected.

But Mogwe is a strong candidate and is likely to try again next year. When it comes to lining up supporters he will remind his northern neighbours that they still have a debt to pay ●

CAPE VERDE

BRIEFS

RESTORATION OF PRAIA PORT--The first phase of the renovation of the port of the city of Praia will begin in January 1984. The ANOP which provided this report said that the adjudication contract for the first two phases was signed last Tuesday in the Cape Verdian capital. A \$12 million contract was awarded to SOMAGUE, the Portuguese firm, and the contract was signed in the presence of Herculano Viera Vieira, Cape Verdian minister of transportation, and Tito Ramos, Cape Verdian minister of housing and public works, and Baptisa Martins, the Portuguese ambassador to Cape Verde. A source from the Cape Verdian ministry of transportation told ANOP that this amount will be adjusted in accordance with the exchange rate of the currency used to estimate project costs. The third phase of construction of the port of Praia which will cost \$2 million was adjudicated to an English firm, said the same source. In addition, project supervision was awarded to a French consortium which will receive around \$850,000.00 for this purpose. As for the costs of the second and third phases of the work, designated as contracts "A" and "B," more than 50 percent of the costs of phase "A" adjudicated to SOMAGUE will be paid for by the Cape Verdian government. For this purpose, the executive branch of Praia borrowed \$10 million from the BADEA [Arab Bank for African Economic Development] and \$7 million from the World Bank. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 5 Dec 83 p 5] 9479

CSO: 3442/100

CONDITIONS OF NEAR-FAMINE, INSECURITY NOTED

Paris LIBÉRATION in French 2 Dec 83 pp 24-25

[Article by André Vermont: 'The Seven Dolors of Chad']

[Text] Eighteen years of guerrilla warfare and civil war have delivered the death-blow to the less-than-rudimentary economy of Central Chad. On top of that, this year brought drought that promises to be every bit as devastating as the one that ravaged the Sahel in 1973. While international emergency aid is in the throes of organization, so is the Addis Ababa conference, called in an attempt to unify political forces.

"The millet has run away." The few shoots that did come up are already parched. The bugs and the millet-eating birds, the kalea-kaleas, have devoured a good share of the little grain that lived to ripen. On these briar-bordered plots of land, on these few fields wrested from the hungry sand-dunes or the arid plains seared by the northwest winds, the "Kanem," the harvest will be next to nothing. For the third year in a row.

It didn't rain enough. But what is worse, it rained wrong. After the little showers at the end of June, the peasants sowed as usual, but not another drop of water fell for 3 weeks. The earth dried up. The seed did not germinate. So they had to sow again in late July, when the rains came again. The millet shoots began to grow. But there wasn't enough water to keep them growing. The latest rains here fell in early September, whereas they ought normally to have fallen for another month or so. The grain wasn't yet ripe.

The shoots were scorched to death before the grain could be harvested.

A scant 100 kilometers north of Ndjamena, the millet looks scraggly. As you move northward along the rutted, potholed road to Mao, capital of Kanem, you notice that the stalks are more and more stunted.

"In good years, we used to harvest 400 kilos per hectare. Over the past 10 years, with the worsening drought, the average yield has dropped to 80 kilos. Last year we barely managed to gather 20 kilos. This year is going to be just as bad if not worse," says the head of the National Rural Development Office (ONDR) in Mao.

There was not enough rain for the grass, either. Of course, just 2 months after the last rains, the cattle herds which constitute the principal wealth of these semi-nomadic tribes were still in fine shape. But already the grass is scant around the few wells scattered across the savannah where the migratory flocks and herds must travel. The herds were afflicted last year by an epizootic of cattle plague which destroyed anywhere from 6 to 20 percent of the herds, according to which estimate you hear. This year, they will be deprived once again of pasturage, particularly since the Gorani nomads (Toubous) from the far north, and others from the Bet (Borkou Ennedi Tibesti) have come down with their camels and their sheep. And the influx of these refugees, most of whom have brought nothing at all with them, makes the survival of an indigenous population already threatened by famine even more problematical. How many people have fled the Bet? You hear figures as high as 25,000, or almost a fourth of the population of these regions. A good number of them have taken flight eastward toward the Sudan. Others, though, have made for these semi-nomadic Hannenbous villages, which are only semi-permanent, and peopled by Muslims whose language is not so very different from their own.

"There was fire from the sky that burned up what had been the livelihood of my father and my grandfather before him:" Alafi Hassan is a sharecropper on the Faya Largeau palm plantation. He is the only one here who speaks a little Arabic. He speaks for others, who stay a bit apart and out of sight.

"Those men from Fezzan (the Libyans) wanted our sons to fight the war. So we slipped away by night. Some had their asses or camels to ride, but the rest came on foot. We walked for about 2 months. Others are still on the way. Some have died of thirst. The rest managed to get back to the nomads." They have crossed the lines of a front that no longer exists, and almost 1,000 of them are camped here, 4 kilometers outside Mao, just below the little town of Bila. They have built shanties of whatever they could scavenge, plus materials given them by the townspeople. Huts no more than a meter wide and two long, a woven straw mat supported on four poles. It is not enough to shelter them from the desert winds or from the chilly nights, especially since most of them sleep right on the sand. During the day, the men are away from the camp. They trudge up to Mao to beg in the streets, asking for food, for cooking pots. People do not turn them away, especially if they know they come from "down there."

In addition to these completely destitute refugees huddled around the bigger towns, are all the nomadic cattle-herders who managed to get away with their flocks of camels and sheep and continue to drift from one place to another, escaping all controls and all attempts at census-taking. Where are they? A vague gesture reflects the vast expanse of sand dunes and grass cropped to the roots. One comes upon their little encampments when one chances on a well or a wadi, one of the valleys where the water reaches the surface for a couple of meters and nourishes a patch of vegetation amid the waste of sands. There are ten tents, perhaps, well separated from one another. Hobbled camels graze nearby. "The Libyans came with trucks to take the cattle. So we drove the camels out into the desert, then, when it got dark, we found them again, pulled them together, and moved on."

The war has gone on now for 5 years -- or 15 years, if you're talking about the far north. But today, on either side of the "red line," there is a deployment of forces and weapons the like of which Chad has never known. Before now, this war was a "war between chiefs," a clash between highly mobile, very small forces. The "combatants" -- part soldiers, part guerrillas -- move at will about the desert and launch surprise raids on "strategic positions," by which they mean the clusters of mud or reed houses near a town or around an oasis. Intervention by Libya's air force, followed by that of French troops, has brought the Chad war into this century. Today that war has bogged down into a motionless waiting game amid the endless sands. The 2,500 or so French soldiers assigned to Operation Manta take care of the infrastructure, train the government forces, and provide radar and air cover for the country.

Ndjamena and its European neighborhoods where the many villas still in ruins, and picked over by waves of plunderers, remind us that the city has changed hands three times in 5 years, has taken on the look and feel of a garrison town. It looks like a poor-man's Saigon, reeking of Gauloise cigarettes and pastis. Every now and then there is a raid. A burst of machinegun fire rakes a bar in the African quarter. A grenade is tossed into a movie theater. By way of security, soldiers on leave are billeted in the town's bars and hotels. They pass the time drinking beer -- brewing is almost the only local industry -- and mucking around with the little black prostitutes. They don't show much enthusiasm about either pursuit; they are just sweating out their 45 hours.

"At first, I was supposed to be here to catch Habré. Now I'm supposed to be here to protect him," says a completely unemotional Air Force sergeant. The really posh night spot, the Pasha, is reserved for officers. They sometimes rub elbows -- or exchange hostilities -- there with ex-FAN "combattants" who have since found niches of their own in the civil service and on ministerial staffs, and who do not always turn in their side-arms at the

staffs, and who do not always remember to turn in their sidearms at the cloakroom on their way to the dancefloor. On the outskirts of "viable Chad," along the road to Abeché, you pass Legionnaire and paratroop outposts. They control access to and exit from each little town, sharing that duty with the Chadian forces. Further on to the North, you see only Habré's troops.

The war is only an indirect cause of the famine that once again stalks the country. Of course, 15 years of unremitting upheaval partially explains the "absolute underdevelopment" here. There is no industry. There are no 20th-century market systems, except perhaps for the Southern cotton market. No raw materials. Even the loot from the repeated sacks of Ndjamena had to be lugged to Nigeria for sale, in the absence of local outlets for such booty as typewriters, household appliances, etc... The per-capita production is the lowest in the Sahel region. Almost 90 percent of the population is illiterate.

Drought, war, floods of refugees: the fragile equilibrium is shattered. The Chadian government has uttered a cry of alarm that echoes the one from Mr Saouma, secretary-general of the FAO, on 19 October, about the food situation in 22 Sahel countries, "where widespread malnutrition, not to say famine, threatens 150 million people." The Chadian National Disasters Minister, Abdeldjelil Taher, left at the end of October on a tour of the Northern provinces stricken by drought. "The situation is even more desperate than last year, when at least some of the central provinces had adequate harvests."

For the time being, the nomads are managing to squeak by. They are planning, one more time, to make the migratory trek to the South this year. They will push on into the tropical zone in spite of the danger of disease for their stock and the likelihood of clashes with the local sedentary populations.

The cows they have -- about 60 head per family -- are still giving milk -- often less than a liter per day in the dry season -- barely enough to meet their basic needs. The occasional sale of a cow in the course of the year provides the necessary cash for buying rock-bottom necessities. The cattle are bought most of the time by Arab traders and smuggled into Nigeria, where prices are higher. Even so, prices have fallen in the past 2 years. Cattle plague, now just about put down, has shuttered markets in neighboring countries. And the drought is an incentive for growers to sell off the cattle they know cannot live much longer as quickly as they can. On the other side of the coin, the succession of droughts has pushed up the price of feed. A scant month after the rains, when theoretically grain and feed prices should be lowest, the price per coro (2.5 kilos) was already over 300 CFA francs in the Northern markets. For the farmers and semi-nomads who have only a few cows, it will soon be impossible to buy enough millet to eat and to plant next season.

What makes the situation still worse is that other regions traditionally major grain producers, such as Guera, in Central Chad, are hard-hit as well by a drought that bids fair to be as devastating as that of 1973. The crops were blasted where they stood and it was impossible, owing to the absence of flooded fields, to transplant enough "berbère," the sorghum that ripens in the middle of the dry season and is an indispensable staple pending the millet harvest the following year.

Is Chad really facing the spectre of famine? "You seldom see people dying of hunger. In the villages, people stick together, and don't let anybody die of outright starvation. They share what there is. And when everything is gone, the people go away," says Fr Claude, an Arabic-speaking Jesuit who has lived in Chad for 25 years. After a tour of the North he thinks that "the situation is far graver than we had feared." The only way to avoid mass emigration of the country people to the capital is through international aid.

Late in September, a World Food Program (WFP) mission distributed food in the village of N'Tiema. "Each 50-kilo sack was shared by 12 people. For the refugees, we allotted a sack for every five people," says the village chief. "That's far too little. It would take at least 10 kilos per person per month for 3 months in order to counteract the effects of malnutrition. "The children are increasingly hurt. There is no more milk, because the cows are lean. They have nothing to eat now except a little "white-man's corn." Even though, according to the Doctors Without Borders Teams that provide Chad with most of its basic medical services, cases of grave malnutrition are still isolated, the nutritional status of the children is nevertheless cause for concern. In the Northwest Kanem region and in the Waddai region in the Northeast, between 20 and 30 percent of them show symptoms of malnutrition. Their weight ranges between 70 and 80 percent of what it should be.

The grain shortage in Chad this year will be more than 130,000 tons. Additional international aid in the amount of some 57,000 tons is vitally needed in the short term. That will be added to currently available stocks of 29,000 tons. That will be barely enough to cover the most urgent requirements for the 1983-1984 farm year. How can we organize this emergency relief? How can we make sure the supplies actually reach the hungry?

Hissein Habré's government has given the FAO, WFP, the UN Disaster Relief Organization (UNDRO), and UNICEF a free hand as a joint action committee to take over emergency relief operations. "This system makes it possible to distribute the food to the people who really need it and for whom it is meant," says Mr Wali Sha Wali, coordinator of United States missions in Chad. "We can follow every sack of grain every step of the way." Even so, the problems are still hair-raising. First of all is the mind-boggling problem of calculating precise needs, region by region. It's

a king-size headache, in the absence of accurate census figures on the populations the "troubles" have driven from one zone to another. Then there is the matter of transport. "What good is food if there is no way to get it to the hungry people?" asks a highly placed Chadian official. There are still not enough UN trucks. The absence of any real roads and the hazardous condition of the existing tracks makes each distribution trip long and difficult. On top of that is the lack of security. In the South, attacks by roving bandit gangs and guerrillas hostile to the central government are very frequent. In the North, while Habré's troops and the French have better control of the terrain, there are some stretches of the Abeché route where convoys need military escort if they are to avoid surprise raids. Even fairly close to Ndjamena, the night still belongs very often to the "road-blockers" -- looters, irregular fighters breaking parole--. witness the two attacks in September on an FAO expert: "First they took every cent I had on me, and when that wasn't enough they pulled up my chin with the barrel of a Kalashnikov and threatened to kidnap me for ransom. After an hour's driving, my Jeep broke down and they ran away."

"Emergency aid can never be more than a stopgap. We mustn't turn these peoples into lifelong welfare cases." On this point, the experts in the international organizations are unanimous. Desertification creeps forward at the rate of several kilometers each year. It is possible to halt this process by establishing enclaves away from where the flocks and herds can get at it and so allow the plant cover to come back and anchor the soil. Actually, though, what really has to be transformed is agriculture in these regions, little by little, adapting it to thrive with about half the rainfall it used to have. In the long term, we shall have to select or develop millet and bean seeds that require far less water.

In the interim, FAO and WFP are betting on "Food for Work" programs, which pay in food instead of wages for construction work. Through this device, the international organization experts, as well as those from the National Rural Development Office, hope gradually to change the ingrained habits of North Chad's peasant farmers. "The tug of tradition is very strong. They will go on planting millet the way their fathers and grandfathers did, even though they know that there is almost no chance of their reaping a harvest. When the food allotments stop, they will stop working on these [construction] projects," says the UNDA chief in Mao. For a year he has been trying to put together a wadi development program to irrigate crops in these valleys where the water flows 3 to 4 meters below the surface, three-quarters of which is caked with salt.

6182

CSO: 3419/ 244

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

BRIEFS

REDUCED SPANISH AID--Spain is to reduce its financial commitment to its former colony following Equatorial Guinea's decision to join the Central African Customs Union and the Central Bank of West African States, both of which use the CFA franc, which is linked to the French franc. A spokesman for the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs said aid would be reduced in the fields of education, health and defence. He added that Equatorial Guinea's joining of the Franc Zone was "the best thing that could have happened".
[Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2852]

CSO: 3400/459

REYA EXECUTIVE BODIES HOLD MEETINGS

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 25 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Meetings were held here yesterday by REYA executive bodies in three of the five zones of the capital to exchange views on the all-round participation of REYA in final preparations towards party formation.

This is in accordance with the recent Addis Ababa COPWE directives and decisions on the need for coordinating and streamlining mass organizational activities on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution.

The REYA meetings in zones One, Three and Five were conducted at the assembly hall of kebel 18 Higher One, the Eastern Comprehensive Secondary School and the Medhane Alem Comprehensive Secondary School, respectively, and were chaired by zonal COPWE representatives.

Briefings were given on how best REYA executive bodies can ensure maximum youth participation in preparations leading to party formation and on ways and means of removing obstacles to the smooth functioning of these bodies.

The meetings were attended by COPWE committee members of the respective zones, members of COPWE committees and chairmen of Higher Urban Dwellers' Associations. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/490

COMMENTATOR DISCUSSES COPWE'S PROGRESS IN FORMING VANGUARD PARTY

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 23 Dec 83 pp 2, 4

[Article by Alemu Hailu]

[Text] Four years ago in December, the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) was set up thus marking a historic milestone in the struggle of the people for lasting victory.

With the establishment of COPWE a new phase has been ushered in advancing the National Democratic Revolution which is the most important step towards creating the vanguard party.

The efforts to create a vanguard party are the most decisive elements for the further consolidation and deepening of the revolutionary process. When we assess the stage attained as a result of the bitter struggle waged during the last ten years we realise that we have entered the final stage of creating a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party which is to become the leading and guiding force in building socialism.

In a nationwide radio and television address announcing the formation of COPWE on December 17, 1979, Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam underscored: "The time will not be far when we will also score victory in the founding of the party of the working people as we go on strengthening and consolidating the popular gains attained through political, military, economic and cultural development."

The coming into being of a Marxist-Leninist Party is of paramount significance since it is a guarantee for the accomplishment of the historic task of the overall development of the country under the supremacy of the working people. With the forthcoming tenth anniversary celebrations of Revolution Day, the time is indeed approaching for creating the vanguard party--a party which will be capable of giving correct leadership to the class struggle of the working people for final victory.

The victories so far scored since COPWE embarked on the process of creating a revolutionary vanguard party have been encouraging. The Commission has been actively engaged in laying its organizational structure from national to basic unit level by way of organising and strengthening mass and professional

organisations. The organisation of the broad masses at all levels has created favourable conditions for giving central leadership. COPWE, which is a result of the struggle of genuine revolutionaries and that of the broad masses in general, is step by step fulfilling its lofty mission. It is carrying out the task of propagating Marxism-Leninism and organising the vanguard party in order to ensure the supremacy of the broad masses in the political, economic, ideological, social and cultural spheres.

It was in this connection that Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam noted that the basis for the triumph of a revolutionary party is first and foremost its heightened class consciousness, readiness for making sacrifice, its defiant attitude and the support it obtains from the working people due to the correct leadership which the people believe and uphold.

Proletarian Internationalism

It is therefore the duty of every revolutionary comrade to strengthen the core of COPWE for ensuring the creation of the Marxist-Leninist Party which is capable of mobilising the energy of the broad masses for economic, social and cultural transformation.

In the struggle towards forming the vanguard party, proletarian internationalism is a source of strength for COPWE. The revolutionary transformation of a society can be successfully carried out on the basis of a sound unity of the revolutionary forces of our time. In its international activity, COPWE attaches paramount significance to the development of relations and co-operation on the basis of the principles of proletarian solidarity with the countries of the socialist community, liberation movements and democratic forces in the capitalist countries.

The activities so far undertaken by COPWE after its first and second congresses with regard to strengthening the mass character of the revolutions has enabled it to exercise party work while at the same time advancing the formation of the vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party.

The development of relations with the broad masses is of great importance. The fuller and more consistently party members act as a vanguard the stronger and more fruitful are the Party's link with working people. As our revolutionary leader aptly put it: "As some may imagine, becoming a member of COPWE today and that of the Workers' party tomorrow is not a special ticket for further promotion of the attainment of special privileges. Rather, it is a forum where readiness to make sacrifice for the supremacy of the broad masses will be tested. And this test will not be accepted as satisfactory just because an individual member testifies for himself. On the contrary, he is to be judged by the broad masses on the basis of his practical deeds and on the criterion of his contribution to the organisation which he accepts as his own."

It is true, indeed, that party membership gives no one any privilege but entrusts revolutionaries with heavy responsibilities for contributing towards strengthening the socialist path of development.

The principle pursued by a Marxist-Leninist Party is to know the interests of the people and to live in close contact with them. The activities being undertaken by COPWE are encouraging, although a lot remains to be done in the effort to build a socialist society. The Second COPWE Congress has been an important milestone in the effort towards speeding up the process of formation of the Vanguard Party, which will ensure lasting victory in the struggle to build socialism. At this decisive hour of revolutionary transformation, it is the duty of all revolutionary forces in the country to step up the struggle with great dedication and in a very organised and conscious manner in order to score greater victories in the struggle ahead.

CSO: 3400/491

COPWE STRESSES GREATER PARTICIPATION FROM REVOLUTIONARIES

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 25 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Dessie (ENA)--The three-member team led by Comrade Tessema Belai, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE representative for Wollo region held discussions with office bearers of mass organizations and discussion forums during its work tour to three districts of the region last week.

The discussions centered on the activities undertaken in the political, economic and social fields of endeavour.

Among the topics of discussion topping high on the agenda were: the formation of the Ethiopian working people's party, the construction of a socialist economy and the national military service and the wiping out of illiteracy from urban areas before the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Popular Revolution.

The participants resolved to fight against harmful and decadent culture, strengthen mass organizations while at the same time broadly disseminating Marxism-Leninism, they also pledged to boost production.

Comrade Tessema Belai said on the occasion that active participation of all revolutionaries is vital in order to enable the revolution achieve its goal.

Comrade Tessema also emphasized that organizational and ideological activities must further be strengthened at this crucial stage when the times for the formation of the party of the Ethiopian working people is fast approaching.

CSO: 3400/490

TWO WATER ORGANIZATIONS EXCHANGE VIEWS

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 23 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The Ethiopian Water Works Construction Authority (EWWCA) and the Water and Sewerage Authority (WSA) have just concluded a three-day exchange of views on joint efforts towards better coordination and division of responsibility in the two areas of activity.

Taking part in the three-day seminar organized for the purpose at the National Water Resources Commission were experts and other key personnel from the commission and the two authorities.

The participants reviewed activities undertaken to date to bring potable water within reach of the rural masses in line with the "drinking water for all" scheme and also hammered out future courses of action.

Discussions and explanatory briefings were also made on the sinking of water wells, the utilization of foreign aid and budgetary matters. The seminar further deliberated on the proper maintenance and repair of rural water service stations under direct local responsibilities.

Comrade Alem Alazar, Commissioner of the National Water Resources Commission, said when closing the seminar yesterday that the participants should apply in practice the lessons derived from the parley and urged the two authorities to make both joint and individual effort to discharge the responsibility entrusted to them. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/490

REFORESTATION MEASURES FOR WATER, SOIL CONSERVATION UNDERWAY

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 25 Dec 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] More than 62.3 million trees were planted during 1982-83, in seven administrative regions of the country, on the basis of the latest report released by the Soil and Water Conservation Department, within the Ministry of Agriculture.

The report said that the field activities so far carried out in the area of soil and water conservation in the last five years have produced encouraging results. The report gives an account of the major activities covered from 1976-77 to 1982-83. These are physical conservation measures, reforestation and the development of surface water resources for minor irrigation schemes and flood control.

According to the report, the work done in the area of physical conservation includes laying contour soil bunds, stone terracing, bench terracing, check dams and gully control. Figures released in this connection show that in the period between 1981-82 and 1982-83, terracing work totalling 159,908 kilometres and 165.345 kilometres were carried out in the years mentioned above, respectively. Check dams and closure schemes form part of the activities implemented in the last two years.

The report shows that the scheme for planting of tree seedlings has [as published] from severe land degradation.

With a land area estimated at 1.22 million square kilometres, Ethiopia has a population of about 32 million inhabitants, 85 percent of whom live in rural parts of the country. The report indicated that the highlands of Ethiopia are known for a large concentration of human and livestock population that puts pressure on the fragile ecological system that in turn hastens the land degradation process. The report said physiographic disposition and increasing land use malpractices have intensified the magnitude of soil erosion which is the most acute problem facing Ethiopian agriculture. According to estimates, more than 50 percent of the country's land area is subject to severe soil erosion that is responsible for soil loss of about 20 tons per hectare per year.

Effective action against soil erosion was introduced several years ago in recognition of the need for rehabilitating badly needed land and to arrest the further deterioration of land resources. The Soil and Water Conservation Department now carries out its activities with the help of 258 junior and 38 degree-holding experts. In addition the department enjoys the services of 6 expatriate advisors and one associate expert provided by FAO and the University of Bern, Switzerland.

The department is assisted financially and materially by international organizations including the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

The United Nations Fund for Capital Development has provided equipment, vehicles and machinery worth 1.9 million dollars. In the meantime, the EEC and the Ethiopian government have signed a three-year agreement for the rehabilitation of forest, grazing and farmlands in Eritrea, Tigray and Gondar regions. Similar arrangement has been reached with the government of Australia for the Gamo Goffa and southern Shoa regions, the report concluded.

CSO: 3400/490

SCHOOL SETS EXAMPLE FOR LABOR EDUCATION, PRAISED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 24 Dec 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] In a glittering example of how labour education should be incorporated in the overall educational pattern, the Black Lion Senior Secondary School in Addis Ababa is sending its students out of its four-walls to the wide arena of labour willingly offered by various industrial organizations.

In line with the socialist pattern of education aimed at an all-round development of personality, the Ministry of Education of Socialist Ethiopia has recently issued directives to expose students to labour education programmes.

And by sending students to various organizations to assist the workers in accordance with the Ministry's directives, the Black Lion School seeks to follow the avowed principles of labour education, said Comrade Desalegn G. Michael, Director of the Black Lion Senior Secondary School, Addis Ababa.

Acquainting the new generation with the hard practical aspects of life away from the ivory tower of scholastic pursuits by giving them a chance to work side by side with labourers, preventing the young generation from going astray in their out of school hours, helping through their free services the economy of the country in whatever little manner the students are capable of and inculcating the value of dignity of labour are among the objectives of the campaign set afoot by the school last year, Comrade Desalegn noted.

It is estimated that the students of Black Lion School made a contribution of Birr 20,000 worth of labour during the last academic year, the director disclosed.

Effectively controlled by the school, the labour education programme was carried out in an efficient manner last year. Out of the student population of 3,300 last year, 1,321 participated in the campaign, different groups of students taking turns, said Comrade Ashebir Taye, co-ordinator of the school and its labour education campaign.

Each group of students worked for 15 days in an organization out of the shifts in which they attended classes. The Black Lion School students worked in five different organizations last year.

The feed-back from the organizations in which the students worked last year has been positive and encouraged by the success of last year's labour education campaign, the school has launched a systematic programme this year.

On the suggestion of the organizations which involved students in the labour education campaign, the duration of work for each group of students has been extended from 15 days (as in last year) to one month this year.

In deploying students for labour education projects, printing presses come handy as they can offer a lot of unskilled work for students who are capable of handling.

That is why the Black Lion School students involved in the campaign are sent to various printing presses.

The Commercial Printing Press, the Artistic Printing Press and the Central Printing Press have each taken in 100 students and the Terramed Printing Press 40. Groups of 50 students each work in the morning and afternoon in the first 3 printing presses and groups of 20 each in the Terramed Printing Press. In addition, 35 students are involved in work in the school campus, bringing the total number of students involved in the campaign to 375 at a time.

The students working in the morning shift contribute 3 and 1/2 hours of labour and those in the afternoon 3 hours. It is the students of grades 9 to 11 that take part in the Campaign in their out of school hours.

The target of the school's labour education campaign this year is to involve 2,900 students in the project, each group working for one month apiece, said the campaign and school co-ordinator Comrade Ashbir Taye.

The effective control exercised by the school has helped to channel the creative energies of youth to a well-organized labour campaign highly lauded by the officials of the various printing presses in which the Black Lion School students are employed.

Comrade Bisetegn Mitiku, head of Administration and Financial Services of the Terramed Printing Press, said that the students of the Black Lion School contributed a lot in achieving the production targets set by the press last year. While the major share of the work done by the students is in the book-binding section, students are randomly selected to work as machine helpers as well, he added.

Comrade Fitur Tesfagiorgis, Production Manager of the Central Printing Press, observed that the students are bringing forth their best, fully aware that their performance, regularity, discipline, etc would be reported back to the school.

Comrade Channe Rufael, Production Manager of the Commercial Printing Press, appreciated the services of the students and pointed out that the involvement of students in a campaign of this kind saved a lot of labour.

The shift of different groups of students briskly and dexterously handling jobs of sorts in different printing presses under the guidance of regular employees is a captivating sight indeed. Grit, effervescence of youth and the pleasure of contributing something to the nation are writ large on their faces, according to an expatriate teacher.

It sums up the objectives of an educational pattern that emphasizes the all-round development of an individual by keeping the youth in the right track and by channelling their creative energies to a purposeful and productive direction. In short the Black Lion School, Addis Ababa has set an example well worth emulating.

CSO: 3400/491

BRIEFS

UK, ROK DONATE VEHICLES--The Relief and Rehabilitation Commission yesterday received in donation 40 vehicles with their spare parts from the Government of the Republic of Korea and seven landrovers from the Save the Children's Fund of United Kingdom. The keysets to the vehicles were handed over to Comrade Dawit Wolde-Giorgis, Commissioner for Relief and Rehabilitation, by Ambassador Deuk To Kim of the Republic of Korea and Mrs Libby Grimshaw, Director of the Save the Children's Fund of U.K. in Ethiopia. Comrade Dawit thanked both donors for their assistance and said the vehicles are needed to transport relief aid for drought victims in Ethiopia. He pointed out that the drought situation was grave requiring all sorts of input to avert it. Comrade Dawit recalled the assistance given to the RRC in the past by the Government of the Republic of Korea and expressed hope that it would continue in the future. Ambassador Kim praised the efforts being made by the RRC in helping people affected by man-made and natural calamities. Mrs Grimshaw said that the vehicles donated by the Save the Children's Fund of U.K. are intended for the RRC activities in Wollo region and also promised further assistance in the future. (ENA) [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 24 Dec 83 pp 1, 3]

CSO: 3400/491

BRIEFS

BAN ON OPPOSITION CONFERENCE--Bongo, the short-tempered president of Gabon, wishes among other things that the opposition to his regime, living in exile in France, would be less vocal. His wishes have just been partly fulfilled. The fact is that a press conference called by the MORENA [National Recovery Movement] of Gabon was banned on Tuesday, 6 December, by the Paris Police Headquarters on the grounds that "it was likely to disturb the peace and undermine the republic's international relations." Abbot M'Abassole, chairman of that opposition movement, has deplored the fact that "the voice of those who are oppressed cannot be heard in our days" but has reaffirmed his "belief that France will help the oppressed and will uphold their rights." The banning of this meeting, which was unlikely to stir much public interest, was on the part of the French Government a gesture to pacify the president of Gabon at least for the time being. The excuse of "keeping the peace" is a poor attempt to hide the fact that the government does not want to incur Mr Bongo's displeasure. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Dec 83 p 6] 8796

CSO: 3419/236

CLERGYMAN EXAMINES NATION'S LEADERS' RESPONSIBILITIES

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3462, 19-26 Dec 83 pp 2929, 2930

[Text]

THE GREATNESS of a nation is linked with the righteousness of its leaders, for righteousness exalts a nation. So pronounced the Rev. Ian C. Roach, chairman and general superintendent of the Gambia Methodist Mission to President Sir Dawda Jawara and the berobed dignitaries of the bar and bench who assembled at MacCarthy Square in Banjul on October 30 to celebrate the opening of the 1983-84 legal year.

The Rev. Roach, who culled his text from the Book of Proverbs (chapter 14, verse 34), held the Gambian bench and bar and a nearly 5,000-strong audience's attention during a 20-minute sermon in which he examined the responsibilities of leadership in the execution of justice and fair play in the life of a democratic nation. "We have not eschewed materialism," he charged, "but rather some of us have shown an unprecedented love for it. This attitude can only bring grief to all."

These statements, said one commentator, were warranted in the light of the rash of corrupt and contemptible practices of public officers which had necessitated the establishment of the nine-month-old Assets Evaluation Commission which, itself, has also come under serious press attacks in its failure so far to bring anybody to book. The Commission has been criticised for waiting on people to report others before an investigation can begin. Letters to the editor of the Senegalese-owned weekly, *Senegambian Sun* have taunted the Commission to establish its credibility by investigating top government officials first. Some have gone as far as to suggest starting with the President.

Rev. Roach urged the Gambian leadership to uphold righteousness in all its aspects as a great privilege. To be set aside, he said, and entrusted by common consent to guide the affairs of others must be a most ennobling thing, and at the same time must be seen as implying a great and solemn responsibility which should make us humble and not, rather, fill us with lust and desire for material things. It calls for a deeper appreciation for righteousness, justice, straight and fair dealing in our every action. "In the execution of your duties in high office as leaders of this nation," he asked, "are your hands clean?"

He went on to appeal to leaders in parliament, and in city, urban, and district councils, to recognise the solemnity attached to their high office and to allow justice and righteousness to guide their daily actions, never giving anyone in the community any excuse for acting against the law. Remember, he urged, the greatness of this nation is linked up with the righteousness of its leaders.

Rev. Roach drew the government's attention to the need for consultation with the broader non-political sectors of society. He called for a meeting of ideas, both political and religious, in a situation where both people and leaders would move forward in a spirit of both collective and individual accountability.

Politics, he said, concerned the welfare of human beings while religion expressed God's concern and interest in human beings. The religious person, therefore, could do no other than be interested in those decisions of the State that affected the daily lives of ordinary human beings.

He chided the community in which he said there had been much in recent times that has caused dismay and grief in the way some Gambians had abused their positions of trust and treated their citizens lightly. He appealed to all to be guarded in their actions and show by their daily living, in private and in public, that they upheld justice and straight dealing in their own interests and in the interests of the community they serve.

The general superintendent's dismay appears to spring from evidence of the sickening get-rich-quick fever which is ravaging the Gambian workforce, resulting in the unabating incidence of theft, embez-

zlement, and fraudulent accounting leading to arrests, detention and conviction of many officers both in the private and public sectors.

The dignified, colourful, and highly religious ceremony closed with a speech by President Jawara robed in his red and black law regalia, an honour from the University of Ife, Nigeria. The opening exhortations were delivered by the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Mr. Fafa Mbye, and the congregation included High Court judges, state counsel, private practitioners, district commissioners, justices of the peace, and other officials at the Law Courts.

CSO: 3400/492

PRESIDENT'S OFFICES REPLIES TO CRITICISM OF CIVIL SERVICE

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3462, 19-26 Dec 83 pp 2930, 2931

[Text]

I AM directed by the secretary-general and head of the Gambian Civil Service to refer to the article entitled "Roundholes: Square pegs" which appeared in your issue of *West Africa* no. 3457 of November 14, 1983.

As most Gambians who have anything to say about the Civil Service, especially negative things, usually preface their remarks with the saying "Square pegs in round holes" (which includes some of them) most of your Gambian readers, including those in the Civil Service were led to expect by the title of the article that it was an article on major managerial and personnel issues and problems in the Gambian Civil Service.

Although the article touched on some of these managerial problems briefly, the thrust of this article seems to be on the alleged salary differentials between

accounting/finance clerks in the treasury and major departments on the one hand and heads of department and permanent secretaries on the other.

The article also seems to have been motivated by recent frauds perpetrated by junior clerks in the Central Bank, telecommunications department and treasury department. Your correspondent seems to have used these frauds to jump to the conclusion that permanent secretaries and heads of department are paid much higher salaries than clerks and lower grade staff, and that these salary differentials are the cause of the theft of public funds.

For the record, and the information of your readers, I would like to illustrate the evolution of lowest and highest wages and salaries in the Gambian Civil Service as well as the ratios of the highest to lowest salary during the last 20 years.

The ratio of the highest to the lowest salary is presently 9.4, which may appear low rather than high in African comparison. It means that the secretary-general is earning only 9.4 times more than an office cleaner. The ratio between the earnings of head of department and an accounting clerk would of course be less, approximately half, or 4.5. Even more important than the present level of salary differentials is the past steadily declining trend in salary differentials between the highest and lowest. From the level of 26.0 in 1965, the year of independence, the ratio dropped to 13.4 in 1979-80. By the following year 1980-81, it was further down to 9.8, and as already stated, it is at present only 9.4.

Your correspondent's main thesis about vast salary differentials is therefore entirely without foundation. While there may be a correlation between low salaries and corruption and embezzlement in both developed and developing countries alike, I am sure that your correspondent must be aware that there are other contributory factors such as those brought out in a recent paper by Leslie Palmier entitled "Bureaucratic Corruption and Its Remedies" delivered at the University of Birmingham Conference on corruption in June 1982.

Concerning the other points raised in your article, especially the rural development project (RDP) commission of inquiry and its recommendations, suffice to say that government has taken the necessary action considered appropriate to the matter in accordance with the existing public service commission regulations and administrative procedures. It is noteworthy that while pointing out the RDP affair and some persons involved, your correspondent failed, perhaps deliberately, to men-

A comparison of income in the Gambian civil service

Civil Service wages	1984-85	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84
Lowest Wage (Daily) (1)	1.42	3.50	4.50	5.20	5.20	5.20
Highest Wage (Daily) (2)	3.29	6.35	6.50	7.50	7.50	7.50
Civil Service salaries	1984-85	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84
Lowest Salary (Yearly)	480	1,200	1,644	1,644	1,844	1,844
Highest Salary (Yearly)	12,500	16,080	16,080	16,080	17,700	17,700
Ratio of Highest to Lowest Salary	26.0	13.4	9.8	9.8	26.0	9.4

tion cases involving fraud and misappropriation of funds, which have been dealt with recently in the courts. Secondly, if government was not positive or prepared to "curb the misuse of public funds without fear or favour", why did the government go to the extent of establishing special criminal courts to try cases of fraud or create an evaluation of assets and properties commission? Can your correspondent name one developing country where embezzlement or abuse of LPOS does not take place?

The point made that "Public financial management requires professional training and responsibilities" is well taken and I can assure you that the government has not lost

sight of this fact. Appropriate management training programmes are being established, particularly the training of government accountants and auditors, and the National Management Institute, built and equipped with World Bank funds, will commence training in January 1984.

Perhaps your correspondent will encourage this effort which is designed to ensure better public sector management and the appointment of "the right man in the right place?"

Yours faithfully,

M. K. Jallow
for Secretary General, President's Office,
Banjul.

CSO: 3400/492

MARKET WOMEN FEATURED AS POTENTIAL POLITICAL FORCE

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3461, 12 Dec 83 pp 2872-2873

[Article by Patrick Quarcoo]

[Text] WITH AN empty government chest and a country unable to import large quantities of consumer goods, the PNDC, facing its worst crisis since taking over from the corrupt but popularly elected civilian government two years ago, may well have its market women to thank.

In spite of the government's radical rhetoric and increased control of the economy, its efforts are yet to bear fruit especially in the agricultural sector. Although the two state giants, the Food Production Corporation, the Food Distribution Corporation and other agricultural task forces have been encouraged, they have little to show for the support.

Rather, it is Ghana's market women, often villified by left-leaning politicians, who continue making it possible for Ghana's cities to eat. The market women go into the hinterland and come back in rolling wagons bringing in maize, yams, plantains, cooking oil and other vegetables for sale. In other cases they liaise with middlemen who bring in the food, buy truckfuls and move on to resell.

In the face of the fact that almost all supermarkets in Ghana have shelves which have nothing but dust to display, Ghana's open air markets are the only places available for shopping.

In every market, including the four big ones in the central Accra and minor ones in suburbs, a market chief exists who determines prices daily ensuring uniformity and responding to shortage and oversupply in Ghana's seasonal agricultural production. Two months ago in their off season, one tomato cost 50 cents, now a small basket-full of over fifty tomatoes cost less than two dollars.

The market women, often earning substantial profits, have raised the ire of the emergent radical groups in Ghana. Take Auntie Koshie, one of the best known women in Accra's major Makola No. 2 market. Born in 1925 she was selling by the time she was 20 moving from frying doughnuts to hawking cigarettes and biscuits. After independence in 1957 she moved to the more lucrative cloth trade, a booming sector, and soon becoming a tycoon.

For African women, cloth is a vital part of dressing, buying up to four pieces of six yards yearly with a boom at festival and childnaming times. Most women use some two yards as a waist wrapper, with another two yards for carrying babies and the other for making colourful blouses.

Up until recently when the government regulated the cloth trade, Auntie Koshie had made enough to build a two-storey building and own three cars, including one taxi. Other market women control trade also in perfumes, talcs, and all other bric-à-brac.

In 1979 with the first takeover of the government by young radical airforce officer Flt-Lt. Rawlings and in the face of the apparently total control of the economy by the market women, the airforce officer embarked on a campaign of harassment blowing up by dynamite Accra's largest market now a car park. Several market women were openly caned, often naked (a grievous traditional insult to African women), for overpricing, tax-evasion and what some radicals termed "capitalist tendencies".

Many of the goods they sold including tinned milk, Milo, matches, plastic bowls among many others were produced in

state-owned factories. Yet managers of these factories found alluring the prices offered by the market women — often ten times state-controlled prices. In the end the market women got some 80 per cent of all production passing them off at 20 times the official prices. Others travelled to neighbouring Togo, Liberia and Nigeria to bring in goods.

Often, many politicians served as link-men between managers and the market women. In the three months when Rawlings ruled from June to September 1979, he put many politicians and market women in jail and banned them from certain trading sectors. Rawlings' harassment caused them to move to the food trade, an uncontrolled area. Now they effectively control food supplies and prices in all urban centres, making them a potential political force once again.

Since coming into power a second time in December 1981, Rawlings has consistently asked the market mummies to help him succeed. In 1979 he had his fingers badly burnt. Under harassment from soldiers, the women withdrew all goods from the market causing the country's worst shortages.

Today the market women operate freely relative to others. Rawlings will find it difficult to control them because if he should try, the already bad food situation would worsen to a politically explosive one.

For the moment the revolution will have to come to terms with the capitalist mummies, and in the long term the mummies may well serve as the revolution's own stabiliser.

CSO: 3400/470

WORKERS, NEW MANAGEMENT SEEK LEGAL BACKING FOR GTP

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3461, 12 Dec 83 pp 2877-2878

[Article by Kojo Owusu]

[Text] THE TAKEOVER of the Ghana Textile Printing Co. (GTP) by its workers just one year ago marked one of the high points of the process of social change initiated by the PNDC. The takeover represented a serious attack on the foreign domination of Ghana's economy: the former controllers of GTP, the United Africa Co. (UAC) a Unilever subsidiary, is the oldest and most extensive transnational corporation in Ghana with powerful connections and influence in the neo-colonial state apparatus.

The GTP action was an important symbol which inspired a number of other takeovers and occupations of factories and enterprises, both foreign and locally-owned, by militant workers. One such action involved Juapong Textiles Ltd (JTL) another UAC-controlled company which is vertically integrated with GTP as the supplier of its main raw material, grey baft.

The workers of GTP shot into prominence among urban workers, offering leadership and making contributions to the struggles of other working people in Ghana. In the first few weeks after their action, workers flocked to the factory to give solidarity and to learn the technique of takeovers.

One year after the GTP takeover, the results the workers have to show Ghana and the world are impressive. Recently, the workers held a colourful rally to mark the anniversary of their historic action. To celebrate the occasions the workers and some of the invited guests wore a specially designed cloth in the national colours of Ghana — red, yellow and green — with portraits of the late President Nkrumah and of Flt-Lt. Rawlings, quotations from

speeches of the two leaders, as well as imprints of clenched fists symbolising popular power.

The chairman of the GTP interim management committee, the body that has run the factory since the removal of UAC control, announced at the rally that using only 10 per cent of installed plant capacity, the company had made C6m. profit over the past year compared to a loss of C10m. in 1981-82 under UAC management. The company has also made a C15m. contribution to state revenue in the same period. In a bid to use local raw materials the company has established an experimental 100-acre cotton plantation with JTL, and plans to start large-scale cotton plantations on its own in 1984.

At the time of last year's takeover, the UAC management was going to lay off almost 600 workers. It said GTP was bankrupt, having run at a loss for the three previous years. This strategy of laying off workers was adopted by many foreign companies in Ghana to create disaffection with the PNDC in its first year in office. The UAC management refused to redeploy GTP workers in cotton production as the workers had proposed.

Originally, the textile factory was set up as a state-owned enterprise by the Nkrumah regime with aid from Eastern Europe. It was handed over to private interests after the right-wing coup in 1966. At the time of the takeover, the government had 55 per cent shares in the company, but UAC controlled the management. The original motivating factors for establishing the factory — provision of jobs and for the social needs of the people; establishment of state control over strategic industry; and

ultimate development of an integrated national economy — had long been abandoned in favour of the profit motive.

With the impressive performance of GTP workers in their first year operating the factory, it is clear that a change in direction has been initiated towards the original aims of the textile company. The success story of this first year has come partly from the sheer determination to succeed, the sacrifices, high morale and hard work of the workers. The new relations of production and discipline have also contributed. There is now popular participation in the running of the factory through democratic committees of workers and senior staff of GTP. Regular political education sessions are organised among workers, and cultural and welfare projects have been taken up. One year of operation is too short to form the basis of definite conclusions but it appears that workers of GTP are poised for more successes.

However, unsettled issues, such as the government's stand on GTP, broad government policy in relation to industry, and the attitude of bureaucrats in the civil service and the banks may pose problems for further progress. One year on, the PNDC is yet to issue a White Paper and give formal legal recognition to the workers' action even though it declared its support only one day after last year's takeover.

Significantly, PNDC member, Mr. Ebo Tawiah (deputising for Flt-Lt. Rawlings) declared the PNDC's support for actions of the people to liberate themselves from the tyranny of exploitation, "especially when those who own the means of production use their exclusive monopoly to intensify the suffering of the masses and undermine national stability in general". But he also made it clear that the PNDC does not support nationalisations and takeovers as a general policy.

At the moment, workers and new management of GTP are demanding (in the words of the factory's defence committee chairman) "legal backing for GTP, a national policy on cotton production, closer attention to the import licence needs of the public sector, and deepening of popular democracy".

It seems the hesitation of the PNDC to give formal recognition of the GTP takeover is related to its policy of attracting foreign investment and avoiding measures that will scare off Western international financial institutions. However, the reaction of the PNDC to the clearly political demands of the GTP workers will be an indication of its readiness to transform relations of production and of its concrete support for workers' initiatives as part of the aims of the December 31 revolutionary process, over which considerable debate and struggle continue to rage.

CSO: 3400/470

AKUAFO CHECK SYSTEM AIMED AT REVERSING UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 pp 2811, 2812

[Article by John Osei-Kwame: "Banking on Farmers"]

[Text] GHANAIAN BANKS, spurred on by the government, are coming out from behind their fortified walls. Hitherto, the commercial banks seem virtually to have put shutters between themselves and the rural communities, who matter most in the country's economic system. The bulk of the Ghanaian population, nearly 70 per cent, live in the countryside; and contribute about 63 per cent of the nation's export earnings. The villages are the life-line of the cities in terms of food supply. The rural community, from all indications, has remained for decades a potential reservoir of untapped financial resources desperately needed to develop Ghana.

Most Third World countries, having paid lip service to the much abused and over-used concept of "Even Development", later abandon it in midstream. The banks have tended to follow suit in their relationship with the rural communities.

Since December 31st, 1981, Revolution the PNDC has embarked on a deliberate policy in trying to reverse that imbalance which has characterised city-village relations. One area in which it has chosen to do so is the novel concept of "taking banking to the farms in the shape of the special cheque or the Akuafu cheque system".

Replacing "chits"

What does the special cheque system seek to replace and do in the context of redressing the existing financial inequality which exists between town and country; and what can the country hope to gain?

The "Akuafu cheque" seeks to stop the cheating of farmers and government that had gone on in the past with the old system of payment by "chit". The old chit system, a promissory note, given to cocoa and coffee farmers, for crop purchases on behalf of the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board (GCMB) had often been nothing but naked robbery of cocoa farmers by unscrupulous GCMB agents and purchasing clerks popularly known as "secretary receivers". These receivers in the heyday of the chit system failed to honour these chits for several months, even years. Often they offered the familiar excuse of non-availability of cash whilst at the same time having used the funds advanced to them for purchases for capital projects of their own or sometimes turning themselves into loan sharks. In some cases agents just bolted with cash entrusted to them.

In the process the farmers received shoddy treatment from these "tin gods" who seemed accountable to no one but themselves. Previous governments, and the GCMB, had turned a blind eye to these malpractices — top officials in the GCMB were privy to the deeds of these clerks. The end result for Ghana was a decline in cocoa production and export earnings. The farmers who found themselves cheated and disappointed shifted their resources and energy towards the production of food crops, notably corn, yam, cassava and plantain. There was ready market for the foodstuffs — which might be described as real "cash crops" compared with such export-oriented "chit-crops" as cocoa.

With this as a backdrop, the Akuafu cheque, while conveniently seeking to eliminate malpractices associated with the

chit system, also aims at introducing farmers to modern banking and business practices and also encouraging farmers to increase their acreages, because through this new form of payment the farmers will always be assured of their return on money. The banks have been duly authorised to honour all such (Akuafos) cheques. It is further intended that this form of payment will help to stem the flow of excessive liquidity in the financial system.

Meanwhile, the PNDC has gone to the extent of fulfilling all outstanding arrears due to farmers for all cocoa purchases made under the old chit system. The dreaded spectre of many farmers of facing the Citizens' Vetting Committee (CVC) for holdings of 50,000 cedis and above in banks has been removed by a government promise that genuine farmers will not be vetted.

But how does the Akuafos cheque system work? Under this new scheme when the farmer takes his cocoa, coffee or kola to the purchasing clerks of the GCMB the exact amount due him is recorded after the "weigh in" and a cheque is issued to him to cover his cocoa sales. The weight of the cocoa and amount payable are recorded on the cheque. The purchasing clerk is obliged to sign the cheque, which is countersigned by the treasurer of the local society of the National Farmers Co-operative Union. The farmer goes to the nearest designated commercial bank for his money.

To avoid long distance travel, a new form of service to the farmer has been evolved and this is "banks on wheels". These mobile banks tour remote villages that are far removed from banking centres to serve the needs of the farmers. These mobile banks perform the dual role of paying and receiving.

Under the new system the farmer is also encouraged to open a special farmer's savings account in addition to routine deposit and current accounts. Technical, financial and investment advice are also

being offered to the farmers. The farmer is free to transfer amounts from his special farmer savings account to any of his existing bank accounts and vice versa.

It is to be noted and emphasised that the farmer is under no obligation to open the special account. He may choose not to do so, but banks are prepared to confirm that most farmers are opening the accounts, in case, they say, "the rainy day" comes. There have been one or two minor problems, such as the "bank" that fails to arrive on time, but better late than never.

The other side attraction of this new service to the farmers is that most of the banks have designated "Akuafos cheque booths" in their branches to help ease the congestion and long waits at cash counters. Further, the banks have extended their normal weekday working hours for the holders of the Akuafos cheque. Still, it would be helpful if the banks were to open on Saturday mornings as most farmers take Saturday and Sundays off; but there are logistic and manpower problems.

It is suggested that taking banking to the people also means staying with the people; therefore the banks should start recruiting and training more agricultural specialists to be stationed at their district branches to advise on farmers' problems.

The new cheque system is still a growing baby and the banks must be wary of their clerks taking on the habits of the old "secretary receivers".

No system is fool proof. It therefore behoves the PNDC to keep a constant review of the workings of the Akuafos cheque system and if possible extend such facilities to other cash-crop producers.

Clear success for the Akuafos cheques, could help to transform the attitude of the present-day farmers in their quest for modernity and benefit Ghana. As for the Ghanaian banks, this is a challenge and opportunity for them and they have to decide whether to come right out into the open or stay behind their walls.

ARTICLE CALLS FOR REDEFINITION OF PDC CONCEPT

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 17 Dec 83 p 8

[Article by Edith Adugu]

[Text]

THE activities of many PDC executives in Accra, throughout the year, have come under strong criticism by sections of the communities within which they operate.

While some people have accused some executives of having constituted themselves into cliques controlling the distribution of essential commodities in communities, others accuse them of diverting and selling essential commodities and showing lack of initiative in all aspects of community life.

These were the general observations of a cross-section of people interviewed in connection with the just opened three-day conference of the Kaneshie Area PDCs in commemoration of the second anniversary of the December 31 Revolution.

The consensus therefore, in view of these criticisms was that as from next year the PDC concept should be redefined and all those who vie for membership to executive positions be critically vetted.

The secretary for the Kaneshie Unit 10 PDC, Mr Richard Ampoma-Djan, said many PDC members do not understand the PDC concept. He requested that as from next year the government should make it compulsory for all members of PDCs to study the guidelines on PDC formation.

He also appealed to the government to encourage the elderly in communities to join the PDCs since it had worked successfully in his community.

"We have been able to convince a lot of people in this unit to accept the concept because we first won over the confidence of the oldmen and women who in turn preached how useful the concept was to their friends and relations", the secretary said.

Nii Owusu Darko, chairman of Unit Two PDC said his unit will get to all social gatherings and preach the revolution to them.

He disclosed that the unit had formed a council of elders which comprises most elders within the community. The council advises them whenever the need arises.

A middle aged politician who is an adviser to the unit eight committee said it would be better for the government to invite people who can offer useful ideas on the formulation of good policies to be

used, especially honest old politicians.

Many people have coiled back into their shells, because most of these PDC members are disgracing them," Mr V. E. Bannerman the Unit Five Chairman told the 'Graphic'.

The chairman said the whole concept is now funny, because people are making fun of it, so he also appealed to the PDC to redefine the concept.

A woman from the same unit had this to say, "madam, the only thing that can stop 'kalabule' is when the PNDC floods the market with its own goods".

She said, "when you need anything desperately there is nothing you can do but to buy it at kalabule price thus encouraging 'kalabule' involuntarily".

BOTCHWEY REPORTS NO INCREASE IN PETROLEUM PRICES

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 19 Dec 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] Rumours that the prices of petroleum products have been increased are baseless and have no foundation whatsoever, the Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, Dr Kwesi Botchwey, has affirmed.

He was addressing the closing session of a one-day seminar for media practitioners at the University of Ghana at the week-end.

Dr Botchwey however confirmed the increases in the prices of rice, maize and sugar and sufficiently justified why the need for the increases.

A bag of 50 kilogram of rice is now ₵2,300 instead of ₵650. For the same weight of maize and sugar, consumers will now pay ₵1,600 and ₵1,100 respectively. The old prices were ₵300 and ₵400 respectively.

The new prices, Dr Botchwey said have been necessitated by various factors including how much it cost farmers to produce the grains, the price offered farmers by middlemen as against that of the Ghana Food Distribution Corporation (GFDC).

Dr Botchwey said all these factors together make the farmer produce a bag of rice at a cost of ₵1,300.

The GFDC, he said, bought the rice at ₵1,800 for storage when farmers were being offered ₵3,000 per bag by middlemen.

Considering all these factors therefore, Dr Botchwey said it will be unwise for the GFDC to sell the rice at the same ₵1,800 since it has to recoup the money sank into the purchases. Besides, the GFDC price is by far cheaper since on the open market rice is selling at between ₵3,000 and ₵5,000 per bag.

On why both imported rice and locally produced rice have the same price, Dr Botchwey said it is unjustifiable for the government to sell rice imported with foreign exchange at a price lower than that for locally produced rice.

Besides, the taxes that will be paid in the purchase of the imported rice, will also go to improve the revenue position of the government.

Dr Botchwey wondered why the NDC and the TUC which were invited to the meeting with farmers at which these new prices were agreed upon failed to explain the circumstances leading to the new prices to the people, especially workers.

On the PNDC's untiring efforts to revive the economy, Dr Botchwey was unhappy about criticisms that the recent donors' conference in Paris on Ghana and the resultant pledges totalling 150 million dollars represent a drift to the right.

He remarked that considering the liberal terms--repayment spread over 50 years with a 10-year grace period and an interest of less than one per cent--it is only proper for Ghana which has been declared a disaster nation among 21 others in Africa to take advantage of such an arrangement.

The Secretary regretted that cocoa output continues to be on the downward trend because of lack of farm hands to clear them of weeds adding "this is going on at a time when there are many idle hands roaming the streets."

Dr Botchwey urged Ghanaians to work hard to increase productivity and avoid waste in the system.

COS: 3400/460

CALL FOR INCORPORATION OF ALL ORGANIZED LABOR INTO TUC

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 19 Dec 83 p 8

[Article by Robert Bentii Kumasi]

[Text] The Trades Union Congress (TUC) has been urged to widen its membership to embrace such bodies as farmers, fishermen, artisans, civil servants and all organized labour group in the country. [as published]

Making the call at the closing session of the third quadriennial congress of the TUC at the UST here at the week-end, Mr Ebo Tawiah, a member of the PNDC, stressed that there was the need for a strong and broadbased representative labour movement at this period when the nation was passing through serious crisis.

As a light of the masses he noted there was the need for workers to expand their horizon by the TUC looking further afield and giving recognition to such bodies as farmers, fishermen and artisans.

The PNDC member stated that workers had a vital role to play in upholding and sustaining production to ensure that the country was salvaged from its declining state.

Declaring that the present system sought, among others, to change the old order for a new one he called on the TUC to do everything to raise the image of the producers of the nation's wealth.

"There is the need to get into constant consultation and not to sit down to ask why is this so," he stated.

Mr Ebo Tawiah cautioned workers against apathy and stressed the need for sacrifices, suffering and true service to be paramount, pointing out that the mentality of confrontation should give way to the guiding principle of consultation and discussion.

Congratulating the TUC for the success of the congress, the PNDC member stressed that the movement should not commit the mistakes of the past by expecting the leadership to do everything for them.

Mr Ato Austin, Secretary for Labour and Social Welfare, declared that the power and strength of the working masses was vital in nation building.

The interest of the working class must be the interest of the society," he pointed out. [as published]

The Government, he declared, had no objection to the new leadership and would co-operate with it.

CSO: 3400/469

DONORS ENDORSE PNDC'S RECOVERY PROGRAM

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2783

[Editorial: "Support for Ghana's Recovery Plan"]

[Text]

IF PLEDGES were horses, Ghana would already be flying out of more than 10 years of steep economic decline on the wings of international praise. However, there was enough sobriety during the recent donors' conference in Paris, conditioned specifically by the magnitude of Ghana's problems, and generally by the persistence of world economic recession and the falling trend in concessional and other aid flows to keep things in proper perspective.

This was the first consultative group meeting on Ghana for 13 years, and a notable feature was the almost unanimous endorsement of the PNDC's recovery programme by the eight countries and 11 multilateral institutions taking part. Setting the tone from the chair, the World Bank asserted that "... to date no government in Ghana, and few elsewhere in recent years, have attempted as comprehensive and far-reaching reforms as have been introduced in the course of the past year ... in as difficult circumstances as may be imagined". It described the three-year rehabilitation and recovery programme as "well-conceived, feasible and realistic", and commended its modest pitch in consideration of resource availability in the present aid climate. Had it been based on full requirements of the economy, funding levels would have to be five or six times higher, it said. The donors also praised the PNDC's "courage" and "steadfastness" in pursuing the programme, as well as recognition — on the evidence of this past year — of its ability to solve problems of institutional, financial and managerial weaknesses.

Also notable was the presentation of Ghana as something of a test case in sub-Saharan Africa, again in the context of international and local economic crisis. Dr. Kwesi Botchway, Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, was not alone in emphasising that significant progress would only occur if more international aid — with more of it on concessional terms — was made available to complement maximum effort on Ghana's part. In the World Bank's words, "in Ghana's far-reaching

and politically difficult policy reform programme is not given strong support, the incentives for other countries to consider such programmes will be weakened, as will donor credibility".

The proposal to the donors was for quick-disbursement programme aid. The projects given priority in the PNDC recovery programme were described as those which earn or save foreign exchange; ease infrastructural constraints (rail and port facilities are an obvious example); generate government revenue; complement or provide linkages to other projects; and increase the availability of essential consumer goods.

The total shortfall in external financing of the three-year programme was put at \$700m. This Paris meeting therefore, set the ball rolling with pledges of over \$150m. for 1984. Having agreed to hold similar meetings in 1984-85, donors will also be looking forward to meeting shortfalls in the second and third programme years of over \$240m. and \$300m. The long-term perspective is simple, verging on platitude and truism: if external funding and exports rise as required, the shortfall will decline to some \$134m. in 1990, with the IMF optimistically speaking of a long-term solution to balance of payments problems. And of course, if the foregoing does not occur, then the foreign exchange shortfalls will have increased substantially by 1990.

These figures point directly to the alternative scenarios whose conditionalities are determined much more internationally than locally. For example, the IMF representative noted that Ghana had satisfied all performance criteria in 1983, and could expect balance of payments "viability" within five years, but only if the "adjustment effort" was sustained and reinforced as necessary. Another warning note was that the benefits of the devaluation could be undercut by large price increases, and shortages of fuel and other essential consumer goods. Already, the energy shortage due to low water levels in the Volta Lake have hindered production and recovery efforts. And the programme requires for the 1984-85 period food imports of \$360m. and essential consumer goods worth \$175m.

Therefore, one scenario shows Ghana proceeding on an export-led structural adjustment, increasingly dependent both on aid flows from industrialised countries and successful political and administrative domestic management. The other scenario shows Ghana striving valiantly but vainly to rehabilitate its neo-colonial economy with inadequate foreign assistance while containing increasing social problems as aspirations fall ever shorter away from practical possibilities. For example, only 4.7 per cent of the total investment under the recovery programme will go into the social sector, specifically health and education.

It is obvious that the PNDC has scored a real success in the eyes of the bilateral and multilateral partners, and that more aid will be forthcoming than for about 10 years. However, there is reason to speculate on the nature of external assistance as the "politically difficult" aspects of the recovery programme become clearer. There are, after all, conflicting assessments of the social costs of economic programmes.

BRIEFS

USSR TTI REACTIVATION AGREEMENT--Ghana and the Soviet Union yesterday signed an agreement under which the Soviets will reactivate the power engineering project at the Tema Technical Institute abandoned after the overthrow of the First Republic. Two Soviet engineering experts are expected in the country early next year to re-appraise the project. The secretary for Education, Mr V. C. Dadson and Mr Michael Kh Saringulian, Economic Counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Ghana, signed the agreement. The project when completed will offer courses in lathe turning, mechanical fitting, electrical rewinding and installation and welding. The project is sufficiently equipped to train skilled craftsmen under different programmes to meet the requirements of over 500 industries in the country. It will also produce spare parts for equipment in other educational institutions. Speaking at the ceremony, Mr Dadson said his Ministry would rely heavily on the project to produce large quantities of basic tools and teaching aids for junior and senior secondary schools. Replying, Mr Saringulian said his country's policy towards Ghana had not changed and hoped the fruits of this co-operation would be clearly seen. [By Charles Neequaye] [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 16 Dec 83 pp 1, 3]

BORDER DISPUTE SETTLEMENT TERMS--Ghanaian and Togolese authorities have agreed on settlement terms over the recent border dispute between farmers on the two sides of the border at Honuta in the Volta Region. A conciliatory mission of the two countries agreed at the week-end that the Togolese at Hanyigba-Dodzi should traditionally pacify Togobe Heletutu X, Chief of Achem-Kopeta on the Ghana side, who was arrested and maltreated by the Togolese. While the mission agreed that the two factions should respect each other's national boundaries, it said farmers from both sides could harvest their crops on either side of the border. The farmers, it was agreed should not concentrate on new farms in the disputed area until the Ghana-Togo Joint Demarcation Commission completed its work. The two governments were also urged to ensure that the commission meets as early as possible to avoid further clashes. The border dispute between Ghana and Togo which started at Honuta in 1967 has claimed several lives. The latest of such clashes occurred on November 1 when some farmers from both sides were hospitalized. Addressing the people later, the Volta Regional Secretary, Dr Austin Asamoah-Tutu, reminded them that repeated clashes would only worsen the relation between Ghana and Togo.--GNA. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 19 Dec 83 p 8]

TRIBUNALS SABOTAGED--The Chairman of the Public Tribunal, Mr Addo-Aikins last Friday, said that no amount of intrigues by anti-revolutionary elements can discourage them from carrying out their legitimate obligations to the state. Speaking at the first sitting of the tribunal at Sekondi at the Sekondi-Takoradi City Council Hall, Mr Aikins regretted that the tribunal had not been able to sit in the region for the past three weeks because of sabotage by some elements who feel threatened by the presence of the tribunal. Such a move, he said, was dangerous and inimical to the administration of justice in the country and should be avoided in order not to bring a head-long collision between the old judicial order and the tribunal. "If the anti-tribunal elements continue to frustrate our efforts, we shall be compelled to bare our fangs and show our powers", Mr Addo-Aikins warned. He pointed out that the old judicial courts and the tribunal were all fighting towards the same goal and as such, "we have no intention to disturb the courts and they must also reciprocate." Mr Addo-Aikins said the tribunal had been set up to administer justice and appealed to all for co-operation. Mr Addo-Aikins said the Western Region abounds with more smugglers, illegal gold dealers, profiteers and other economic saboteurs and warned all those involved in such activities to desist from them since the tribunal would deal ruthlessly with them. He said although the tribunal had the power to hear all cases, it would restrict itself to cases involving acts committed against the economy. [Excerpts] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 19 Dec 83 pp 4, 5]

NEW SOLDIER MENTALITY--The Force Commander, Major-General Arnold Quainoo, says one of the biggest challenges facing the Ghana Armed Forces is changing the mentality of soldiers looking down on and maltreating civilians. Maj-Gen Quainoo was speaking on the topic "The history, role, structure and challenges of the Ghana Armed Forces" at the second one-day residential seminar organised by the Ministry of Information for media practitioners at the University of Ghana, Legon, at the week-end. Tracing the history of the Armed Forces, the Force Commander said the forces were established by the colonialists to protect their interests and the indoctrination they had made them look down upon civilians. It is this mentality, he said, that has resulted in some soldiers seeing civilians as belonging to a different class of people. Maj-Gen Quainoo said the restoration of discipline in the Armed Forces is receiving critical attention considering the importance of the roles of the army in the society. [By Edith Adugu] [Excerpt] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 19 Dec 83 p 1]

EXPORT CREDIT--Standard Chartered Merchant Bank has arranged a £15m. general purpose line of credit, backed by the ECGD to finance British exports to Ghana. The loan is intended to finance purchase of medical supplies, raw materials, spare parts, essential consumer goods and capital goods. Ghana's imports from Britain have been growing recently; in the first eight months of this year they totalled £60m. The new Standard chartered line of credit is the fifth since 1978 involving a total of £138.5m. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2833]

AREA COUNCILS--Area councils are to be set-up in all communities throughout the country to help plan development programmes. Membership of the councils will be chosen among residents. They would help to identify and expose citizens who ignore their civic responsibilities, such as paying taxes or partaking in communal labour. Mr. Gyasi Ankrah, co-ordinator of Accra District Defence committees, announced this when he addressed the Dzorwulu Zone 7 PDC rally to mark the zone's second anniversary. He said that the PDC concept had become an integral part of Ghanaian society and appealed to the elders in the society to co-operate with PDC members. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2853]

EEC PLANT MEDICINE GRANT--The Noamesi Plant Medicine Research Centre at Hohoe in the Volta Region has received an European Economic Community (EEC) grant for the establishment of a factory to manufacture drugs from local herbs. The National Investment Bank (NIB) has also approved another loan for the creation of a botanical garden for the centre where local plants used for both curative and preventive drugs will be conserved. [Excerpt] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 17 Dec 83 p 8]

BORDER MALPRACTICES--Heads of organisations operating at the country's borders have been asked to co-operate with each other to ensure that malpractices prevailing at the borders are eliminated. Addressing a meeting of border guards, officials of the Customs and Excise Department and Immigration Department, Mr Martin Amidu, Under Secretary of the Upper East Region said most of the malpractices currently prevailing at the borders, could be eliminated if the officials worked conscientiously in the interest of the nation instead of personal benefits. He said reports reaching the regional administration indicate that travellers were being molested, their items confiscated and money extorted from them. Mr Amidu further stated that the officials did not only help people to devalue the country's currency by allowing them to carry more money than it is stipulated by law across the borders but also they allowed people with dubious characters to cross to other countries only to disgrace Ghana. To this end, he appealed to the officials to ensure that only people with genuine travelling documents are allowed to cross the borders. He said identity cards should not be used as travelling documents explaining that identity cards are only issued by Ghana's missions abroad to Ghanaians. The Under Secretary pointed out to them that the Paga border, though small, was very important and sensitive and called on the heads to coordinate and co-operate with each other not only to eliminate malpractices but also ensure maximum security at the border. [Text] [Accra PEOPLES DAILY GRAPHIC in English 14 Dec 83 p 9]

PBL CREDIT LINE--Premier Bank Limited (PBL) a member of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, has granted Ghana a credit line to support specific projects needing international finance. The bank has also granted Ghana 10 million dollars as a standby arrangement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Announcing this at a press conference in Accra at the week-end, Mr S. F. Ujjainwala, executive manager of the PBL, said the bank had plans to participate in joint economic ventures with the government.

Mr Ujjainwala said economic progress in Ghana had been hampered by lack of foreign exchange and promised his bank's support in the economic reconstruction of Ghana. He described the PNDC's Economic recovery Programme as "bold and imaginative" and said with massive and generous assistance from international financial institutions the programme would lift Ghana from its economic doldrums. Mr Ujjainwala appealed to the government to extend the PBL's licence to other fields of banking activity. He said the bank at present did not cover personal savings accounts and described this as a severe set back in its operations.--GNA. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE's DAILY GRAPHIC in English 19 Dec 83 p 8]

EXHORBITANT PETROL PRICES--A drum of petrol is allegedly being sold between ¢9,000 and ¢10,000, while a drum of gas-oil is sold at ¢6,000 by alien fuel dealers operating at Goaso, in the Brong Ahafo Region. As a result of this, drivers are charging exorbitant fares. Disclosing this to the Ghana News Agency at Goaso, a spokesman for the town development committee said the situation was becoming unbearable as all efforts to get the "kalabule" fuel dealers to sell the commodity at the approved prices have failed. He, therefore, appealed to the authorities to help save the situation. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2852]

MANGANESE MINE LOAN--Ghana's sole manganese mine at Nsuta in the Western Region is to be rehabilitated and modernised with a 25-year loan from the European Common Market worth \$5.2m. New machinery and other equipment is to be purchased to upgrade the facilities in a bid to restore production to former levels. The loan, made under the Lomé Convention risk capital provisions, will be managed by the European Investment Bank. The mine was taken over by a government corporation in 1975. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2833]

VALCO LAYS OFF WORKERS--Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO) of Ghana has ordered a leave of absence for 900 of its remaining 1,520 employees, effective from January 1. The decision followed the shutting-down of potlines at the Tema VALCO plant due to the continued fall in the water level of the Volta Lake, which feeds the Akosombo hydroelectric dam. VALCO consumes 60 per cent of power produced by the power works. VALCO said the 620 employees who would remain at work were more than required but that they would be diverted to some community work projects. Employees will be recalled when the plant reopens, it said, but gave no indication when this might be. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2832]

CSO: 3400/458

GUINEA-BISSAU

POLITICAL REFORMS EARN FRENCH, WORLD BANK AID

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 9 Dec 83 p 9

[Text] Yesterday Alden Clausen, president of the World Bank, started an official 3-day visit to Guinea-Bissau, after visiting Ghana and Senegal.

Clausen, who is accompanied by David Knox, the World Bank vice president, was greeted at the Bissalanca International Airport by Vitor Saude Maria, the Guinea-Bissau prime minister, four other members of government and the governor of the National Bank of Guinea-Bissau.

In a statement to the press on arrival, Alden Clausen said that "the World Bank is pleased to be associated with Guinea-Bissau's efforts to develop its economy and is impressed with the political reforms which are being introduced to deal with the economic problems."

Since 1979, the World Bank group has granted Guinea-Bissau credits of \$45 million (5.85 million contos) for highway projects (\$9 million), offshore seismic tests for forthcoming petroleum prospecting (\$20 million) and the construction of a new port of Bissau and four river ports (\$16 million).

The World Bank held a round table on Guinea-Bissau with donors in November in Lisbon and is preparing to finance, through loans, technical assistance for restructuring the state-run sectors connected with the economy (banking, economics and finances, planning, industry and education), new highway projects and prospecting and oil drilling on the maritime continental shelf.

Loans From France

France granted Guinea-Bissau loans of 9.76 million francs (156,000 contos) to continue phosphate prospecting, road construction and other development projects.

Bartolomeu Pereira, the Guinea-Bissau secretary of state for planning and international cooperation, and Viaud, the head of the permanent French cooperation mission in Guinea-Bissau, signed four loan agreements in Bissau.

A loan of 3 million francs (48,000 contos) will be used to continue the third phase of phosphate prospecting in northern Guinea-Bissau where deposits were found that the French consider exploitable.

A loan agreement for 2.2 million francs (35,200 contos) will be used for agricultural research in the Tombali region, the "breadbasket of the country" in the south. A French loan of 3.5 million francs (56,000 contos) will be used for highway connections, Bissau-Quinhamel-Biombo and Bissau-Prabis, both in the capital region.

9479

CSO: 3442/100

IVORY COAST

BRIEFS

HOUPHOUET APPEALS TO LEBANESE--President Houphouet-Boigny has denounced "that small number of Lebanese who have yet to be cured of the malady of fraudulent behaviour." Addressing representatives of the Lebanese World Cultural Union, the President called on the Lebanese community to flush out dishonest members of their community themselves. The President continued by appealing to the Lebanese community to involve more Ivorians in their businesses, at the managerial and staff levels. There are approximately 50,000 Lebanese living in Ivory Coast, controlling 145 industrial companies in many sectors and dominating commerce. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2849]

CSO: 3400/459

TROUBLED SITUATION GENERATES INSECURITY, SLOWS TIMETABLE

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3461, 12 Dec 83 p 2860

[Text] THERE IS cause for concern for all Liberians — including the Head of State, General S. K. Doe — who have expressed commitment to returning the country to democratic rule in April 1985: things are already behind schedule, and no encouragement is provided by the current matters of ex-Commanding General Thomas Quiwonkpa, the alleged coup plot, and unrest in Nimba County and within the armed forces.

The final report of the Constituent Advisory Assembly was presented to General Doe in early November. According to the election timetable it submitted to the People's Redemption Council (*West Africa*, August 8, 1983; p.1849) the PRC was to promulgate a decree on election regulations on October 1. Also on that date, the Special Election Commission was to present draft decrees on the number and shape of constituencies, as well as on the register of voters, to the PRC for consideration. The PRC was then expected to publish the finished decrees on November 1. Apart from the appointment of five people to the Special Election Commission (all with a strong True Whig Party background), and the presentation of the Constituent Advisory Assembly report behind schedule, it is not clear that anything else on the above timetable has materialised.

Without the foregoing decrees and regulations, it seems improbable that either the referendum on the Constitution or the registration of voters can take place correctly between January 9-19 next year. And against the background of threatened purges of "people with non-Liberian ideas" and the insecurity this generates among potential critics of the government who are also patriots, it becomes ever more unlikely that the ban on political activity can be lifted next April 12 and

political parties can start organising in the appropriate atmosphere of democratic freedom of thought and association.

Referring to continuing events in Nimba County, Dr. Doe has reportedly said "the killings must stop". According to the Executive Mansion, one of the accused, a Private Paul Tuah, has allegedly said that the recent killings in Yekepa, Bong Nimba County, were directly related to a plot implicating several officials of government, public corporations as well as army officers. Certainly, there have been an undisclosed number of arrests, and a conflicting estimate of deaths so far — including the killing of former Chief of Staff General Robert Sey — for which explanations so far offered cannot yet go down as historical truth.

The 48-hour deadline ultimatum for General Quiwonkpa and ten others to give themselves up has long expired. But in Monrovia, the spectacle has unfolded of already accused persons in the custody of the National Security Agency being paraded to the press. The first parade was "intended to dismiss the fears that those accused of the plot were being mistreated and intimidated to confess their guilt". The accused reportedly said they were testifying at will — although, presumably, they were in custody against their will — and that the investigation was being professionally handled.

The second visit of journalists was to hear "a principal suspect", Major Kalago Luo, appealing to the PRC "for mercy on behalf of himself and others involved". He nevertheless did not place General Quiwonkpa at the origin of any plot; he reportedly alleged the existence of a plot "in the making" with Quiwonkpa's consent, but said "there was no specific plan or date" for implementation.

Some people have remarked that there is a clear contrast between this parade of living canaries — several of the accused in detention have been naming names and making allegations — and the hurried manner in which Major-General Weh-Syen and five other members of the PRC were done away with in 1981. This time, Head of State Doe has not declared that no time would be wasted, but has rather promised a fair trial. This promise, however, become a little strange when those already in detention have been brought out of the cells to implicate themselves and others in admissions of guilt well before any date for the trial has been set. One might ask: why bother to go to court at all?

Whatever the outcome of the present situation, it is clear that there is an unusual anxiety in Liberia. Traditional chiefs (who normally kept their counsel in line with the patronage received from the Executive Mansion) sought to reconcile Generals

Doe and Quiwonkpa weeks ago before things got really hot. They were roundly rebuffed by Dr. Doe who insisted that Quiwonkpa had to apologise and succumb.

The recent sacking of the editors of the state-owned *New Liberian* newspaper revealed the sensitivity and insecurity of the government, apparently seeking to avoid critical examination of the proceedings in the press or elsewhere. Of course, it would not be advisable for potential critics of the current events to raise their voices whilst "a massive search" is going on for ten soldiers and civilians allegedly implicated in the affair.

Although some have tried to treat these events as a "Nimba County matter", it is a national issue, and it begs an answer to the question of "tribalism" in this delicate period of national affairs. But meanwhile, all Liberians are also expected to be still engaged in the massive search for democracy in Liberia.

CSO: 3400/470

BRIEFS

STRINGENT MEASURES TO RELIEVE ECONOMY--The Liberian government has announced stringent measures to bring relief to the economy. The measures include a freeze on duty exemptions, a freeze on foreign travels for government and public corporation officials, and a freeze on purchases of vehicles and transport equipment. The government also proposed immediate reinforcement of revenue collection measures. All ministries and public agencies have been asked to immediately defer the execution of any purchases beyond a certain amount and construction contracts not yet executed. Last week the government announced a freeze on the disbursement of all cheques other than salary cheques, and placed a temporary ban on the importation of rice. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2832]

OIL EXPLORATION BEGINS--Liberia's Minister of Lands, Mines and Energy, Dr. Foday Kromah has announced in Monrovia that the first series of oil exploration in Liberia's territorial waters have started. Exploration is being carried out in Grand Cape Mount County by the AMOCOC Liberian Exploration Company. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2834]

CSO: 3400/458

MOZAMBIQUE

MACHEL'S RAPPROCHEMENT WITH WEST DISAPPOINTS SOVIETS

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 8 Dec 83 p 44

[Article by Daniel Ribeiro, in Paris: "Is the USSR Cutting Supplies to Mozambique?"]

[Text] Early this week in Paris, Jacinto Veloso, economics minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, called on European countries, particularly France, to provide emergency aid to his country. The Soviet Union, displeased with the rapprochement of the former Portuguese colony with the West, will not keep its promises about supplying oil and foodstuffs.

According to information received yesterday, Wednesday, in the French capital, President Samora Machel sent a real SOS to the Western nations, writing to several European heads of state, especially Francois Mitterrand, and the European Economic Community for emergency aid to his country.

Jacinto Veloso, the economics minister, was in Paris early this week, thus reinforcing Samora Machel's request for aid.

The economic situation in Mozambique is critical now; 250,000 tons of cereals are needed for the next 5 months. The country's food reserves are almost gone, mainly because of the drought.

In Paris, it is known that the oil shortage has already forced Maputo to halt domestic flights and could totally paralyze the country. Meanwhile, according to information from a reliable source, the USSR has never supplied Mozambique with oil and only rarely sent food because of its own problems. Recently, however, it supplied airplane fuel and 10,000 tons of rice. Bulgaria also sent a shipment of cereals, initially earmarked for the PLO in Beirut. The usual supplies from the USSR are clothing, farming equipment and political literature.

The reasons the USSR is not meeting Mozambique's expectations reportedly relate to Maputo's policy of openness, mainly toward the USA.

In addition, Moscow apparently was not pleased with the new guidelines from the Fourth FRELIMO Congress, primarily in foreign policy and agricultural matters. Some ministers reportedly were directly called into question by countries of the East, and Joao Ferreira, the new agricultural minister who replaced Sergio Vieira, the current governor of Niassa, was mentioned as an example. The new minister chose to support small farms, to the detriment of the large state farms which his predecessor encouraged, and in this he was strongly supported by Bulgaria.

The fact that Machel's message to Andropov on the anniversary of the October Revolution was scarcely mentioned by the Soviet media was interpreted as a signal of Moscow's change toward Maputo.

According to reports in Paris, after Jacinto Veloso's visit to France and Edgar Pisani, the EEC commissioner, they will be very attentive to the situation. Reportedly, the recent cause of the USSR's change in attitude toward Mozambique was Samora Machel's recent trip to Europe during which the Mozambican president announced his country's intention to adhere to the Lome Agreement and requested military aid from France and Great Britain.

O JORNAL asked Valentin Vdovine, the ambassador of the USSR in Lisbon and former representative of his country to Maputo, to comment on this matter. We had not received any response when the paper went to press.

9479

CSO: 3442/100

MOZAMBIQUE

FRELIMO CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEFINES LEADING ROLE OF PARTY

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 18, 21 Nov 83

[Fourth Congress--Report of the Central Committee: On the leading role of the FRELIMO Party in the construction of the bases of socialism]

[18 Nov 83 p 13]

[Text] After the approval of the candidacies by the masses, they were transmitted to the provincial secretariats, which confirmed acceptance in the party as full or candidate members.

The national campaign for structuring the party represented an enormous leap forward, solidly establishing the party throughout the territory of our country and incorporating into its ranks tens of thousands of new members.

The method of calling on the people to express themselves on the behavior of the members made it possible to apply a strict standard in analyzing the candidates. In this manner, the purity of the ranks was defended and the popular character of our party was reinforced.

It represented a guarantee of the prestige and the influence of party members among the people. This method implements the principle that the member of the party must enjoy the trust of the masses and be recognized by them as a part of the vanguard, one who watches over the people's interests.

The national campaign for structuring the party guaranteed that the workers, the most conscientious citizens, and those who in various fronts had shown themselves to be exemplary in their dedication to the people and the revolution, would join the FRELIMO Party.

The members of the party constitute the vanguard of the working classes. For that reason, they have been particularly targeted by the enemy, whether by the Rhodesian aggressions or the criminal acts of the armed bandits.

The experience of these 6 years shows that the historic decision to create the Marxist-Leninist party was strategically and tactically correct. The decision responded to the real demands of the revolutionary process.

In making an over-all analysis today of the period that has transpired since the Third Congress, we ascertain that our party has become established in a solid and irreversible manner throughout the country.

The FRELIMO Party constitutes the leading force of the state and society. Our party leads all of the people in the consolidation of independence, the defense of sovereignty, economic reconstruction and the creation of the bases of socialist society in Mozambique.

The experience of the building of the party during this period showed that in a general way we achieve greater successes when we base ourselves more deeply in the real situation and know how to value the revolutionary experience of the people.

Along with the creation of the cells, the party apparatus was structured at the various levels. It was observed, however, that generally the growth of the party apparatus did not keep up with the growth of the party in number of members and geographic distribution. From the apparatus of the Central Committee to the apparatuses of the provincial, district, city and village committees, we have not yet succeeded in providing the party with cadres in a quantity and quality capable of insuring in a permanent and effective way the leadership of the basic structures, in particular. There was a need to guarantee control of the state, the fundamental instrument of class power, the principal instrument that implements the building of socialism. For that reason, the essential element of the party cadres was concentrated on executive tasks of the different echelons of the state. The governments, whether at the level of Council of Ministers, of the provinces or of the district executive councils, observers of the cadres to the detriment of the state apparatus [sentence as published]. The Seventh Session of the Central Committee analyzed this imbalance and its consequences and laid down directives that should be applied urgently.

The weakness of the party apparatus led the party cadres in many cases to encounter difficulty in reaching a clear definition of their tasks. That led to either a dispersal of efforts on secondary matters or to passivity and ineffectiveness. Reaction sought to take advantage of this situation to try to demobilize the members of the party and to discredit the basic structures.

[21 Nov 83 p 13]

[Text] In the process of structuring the party, it happened also that the cells replaced the political structure that previously existed in the place: the Dynamizing Group. The Dynamizing Groups played a basic historical role in mobilizing the people to report vestiges of colonial behavior, in the consolidation of independence. They acquired great prestige among the masses.

They constituted a positive experience of the exercise of popular power; they were an important school where the people learned to exercise power and to practice democracy.

As interpreters and executors of the political line of the Liberation Front and a phase when the apparatus of the colonial state had practically not been

affected, the Dynamizing Groups assumed a number of state tasks. Becoming a parallel authority, they resolved problems of a political, economic, social and administrative nature.

As we structured our state apparatus, many of the tasks of the Dynamizing Groups naturally passed to the state organs. It was the task of the party cells, in turn, to develop work methods and the particular duties of the Dynamizing Groups. When they noted that error, or because they were criticized, the cells sometimes fell into immobility. It was not always easy for them to find the new road, to identify the best way to operate.

The experience of those years shows that the cell is the decisive level of party work. It is in the cell where our plans really have success or fail. For that reason, it is essential to guarantee a correct and dynamic operation of those cells.

The fundamental question that was at the basis of the hesitation and, sometimes, immobility at the beginning of their action lies in the difficulty of the cells to gain the leading role.

The function of leading requires capability. In the new phase of the revolution, it means increasing the capability of management of economic tasks.

This qualitative transformation was also made difficult by the fact that when we introduced planning, it was not possible to involve the rank-and-file in the process of its preparation. The plan appeared with a complexity that was above the level of the cell and for that reason, the latter was incapable of assuming it. The consequent impossibility of intervening in the main aspects of the workers' lives prevented the cell from gaining the leading role. The cell limited itself to mobilization, repeating watchwords and exhortations detached from the solution of the concrete problems of the masses.

As the process of revitalization, the cells have to assume their essential tasks. They must understand that it is important for the worker to have an awareness of the activity in which he engages, of its social significance, and of the purpose of his work.

The cells fit into the role of the enterprise to which they belong in the general context of the country's production.

8711

CSO: 3442/76

MOZAMBIQUE

ZIMBABWEAN TROOPS REPORTED FIGHTING WITH FRELIMO FORCES

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 6 Dec 83 p 23

[Text] Zimbabwean soldiers fighting in Mozambique with government forces massacred more than 300 people and burned around 150 houses in attacks on settlements whose residents reportedly supported the guerrillas of the RNM [Mozambican National Resistance].

Paulo Barbosa, our correspondent in Harare, sent us the report on this massacre; he specified that those responsible for the massacre belong to the Zimbabwean Fifth Brigade, the same brigade which last year was accused of massacring nearly 1,000 peasants in Matabeleland in southwest Zimbabwe. These soldiers of Robert Mugabe's army were instructed and trained by North Koreans.

The 300 people massacred in Mozambique lived near Vila Paiva de Andrade in the settlements of Tambarare, Chitacha, Mucodza, Nucurumadzi, Tsiquir, Inhassongoro and Murombozi. The survivors of the slaughter told of scenes of horror they witnessed, mainly of seeing dozens of bodies covering the ground in various settlements, some of whom were horribly mutilated.

The survivors of the settlements attacked by the Zimbabweans stated that these residents had openly rejected FRELIMO's plan for settlement in communal villages controlled by government forces. With this refusal, they signed their own warrant for destruction or death.

Counteroffensive

Currently, the Zimbabwean Fifth Brigade is involved in operations with Samora Machel's troops against guerrillas of the resistance. The Zimbabwean forces are taking part in the offensive with BM-21 combat vehicles, T-54 tanks, BRDM and BTR armored vehicles and B-10 and B-11 guns, said Paulo Barbosa, stressing that several communications in English between the forces in the operational area and the command of the city of Beira had been intercepted.

The RNM just published a communique announcing a counteroffensive in that area which reportedly destroyed joint units of Mozambican-Zimbabwean forces in the areas of Mucurumadzi, Mavunduzi, Chitacha and Murombozi. According to the

communique, as of 29 November 1983, 198 members of Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops were killed, another 366 were wounded and evacuated in "Antonov-26" planes. Moreover, three officers and seven sergeants were among the 49 captured by the guerrillas in this counteroffensive. In turn, 29 members of the Mozambican liberation movement were killed and 35 wounded.

Sabotage

The situation in southern Mozambique is deemed very serious where the Chicuacuala railroad linking the port of Maputo with Zimbabwe is considered practically closed by the Harare authorities. This railroad was attacked and damaged in some places two or three times a week habitually; however, lately, it has been sabotaged every day.

The railroad linking Zimbabwe with the Mozambican port of Beira is another favored target of the resistance fighters. However, Zimbabwean authorities say the attacks against this railroad have decreased since several contingents of soldiers from Harare were sent to Mozambique to protect this railroad, the highway and pipeline linking Beira with the Zimbabwean border.

In other news, since 28 October 1983, the electric power lines from the Cabora Bassa Dam to the Apollo transformer station in South Africa have been paralyzed, sabotaged by the guerrillas. The resistance fighters destroyed three support poles for these lines and stated that the entire area was under their control, thus it would be impossible to repair.

The latest report from Paulo Barbosa mentions that two Soviets in the control of the resistance died of illness. He recalled that 21 August 1983, resistance fighters attacked the Tantalite mines in Morrua, Zambezia Province, killing two Soviets and capturing 24 more, held as hostages since then.

9479

CSO: 3442/100

MOZAMBIQUE

UNDERGROUND WATER TO SUPPLEMENT CAPITAL WATER SUPPLY

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 19 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] The flow of underground water which runs from Mahotas to Marracuene will be utilized to supplement the urban distribution network through batteries of bores connected to a pipeline. That information was revealed yesterday during the delivery of a truck equipped with drilling equipment to the Dutch Water-Supply Contractors (DUWACO) company by the National Directorate of Waters (DNA). The Dutch DUWACO company was awarded the contract for conducting hydrogeological studies for that project which encompasses the opening of more than 20 bores designed to investigate the viability and the volume of the existing water.

The implementation of these studies, awarded to the Dutch DUWACO company is financed by the Dutch Government and are part of the project of drilling bores to determine the viability and the volume existing in the whole region extending from Mahotas to Marracuene. As a result of these studies it is planned to drill a chain of bores fitted with conduits that will be connected to the urban distribution network for utilization of the underground water.

The hydrogeologic studies project, already in the preliminary geophysical study phase, is taking place simultaneous with expansion of the present station for impounding and treating the water of the Umbeluzi.

In its second state of full operation, this project is intended to reinforce the volume of water that it is possible to impound at the Umbeluzi station for supplying the city, utilizing the underground water which will also be channeled into the urban distribution network.

The drilling equipment delivered yesterday to the company that is going to carry out the project is the most powerful one in the country, with a capacity for drilling and overlaying bores up to 400 meters deep. Up to now, the machinery that had been operating in the country had a maximum drilling capacity of 200 meters.

The term of delivery of the equipment was signed for the Mozambican side by the director of Maputo Water Company, engineer Frederico Martins, representing the DNA, and by R. de Vries, the director of the local representation, for the DUWACO.

8711

CSO: 3442/76

MOZAMBIQUE

FIREWOOD, CHARCOAL PRODUCTION DOWN IN SOFALA

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 21 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] A source from the Department of the Division of Forests and Wildlife of the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture of Sofala told the DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE that with a production of 144,709 sacks of charcoal for the period between January and October of this year, the exploitation of this wood fuel suffered a decrease of 76.6 percent compared to last year.

This low production occurs also in reference to the cutting of wood, stakes and bamboo, for which the total production for the same period was 68,555 cubic meters: 68,184 of wood, 356 of stakes and 15 of bamboo.

The source indicated among other problems that are the cause of those low production figures are the lack of manual saws which the producers of charcoal, wood, stakes and bamboo use, the bad condition of access roads and lack of transportation.

In the meantime, notwithstanding that low production, the number of licenses issued authorizing the exploitation of wood fuel resources and construction materials increased from 700 (last year) to 879 (this year).

8711

CSO: 3442/76

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

HIPPOS TRAMPLE CORN CROPS--The fields sowed in corn and sweet potato in the "Julius Nyerere" and "Agostinho Neto" communal villages are being damaged by the hippopotami of the Munhuane River in Gaza Province. The hunters of the city of Xai-Xai and the "Agostinho Neto" communal village have been combatting the hippopotami which, because of the lack of water in the river, have been walking on the banks, ruining the people's farms. [Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 20 Nov 83 p 1] 8711

CSO: 3442/76

GOVERNMENT REPORTEDLY SEEMS HELPLESS IN FACE OF CASAMANCE SITUATION

Paris LE MONDE in French 9 Dec 83 p 6

/Article by Pierre Biarnes "Dakar Seems Helpless in Face of Separatist Agitation in Basso Casamance"/

/Text/ Late in the afternoon of Tuesday, 6 December, some 15 policemen who had tried to disperse a meeting of the Movement of Democratic forces of Casamance (MFDC) which was taking place in the sacred woods of the little town of Diabir, near the airport of Ziguinchor, the main city of Casamance, were attacked by angry participants who tried to lynch them. Three of them, including their leader, Lieutenant Kajou, were killed by machete wounds, and four others were very seriously wounded (LE MONDE of 8 December). There were no casualties--at least according to available information--among the ranks of the militant separatists, who all apparently escaped before the arrival of the first reinforcements.

Five hundred state troopers were immediately dispatched from Dakar to bolster local security forces.

These incidents coincided with the commencement of the trial--on Monday, before the state security court--of 41 MFDC militants involved in the disturbances of 26 December 1982, during which the Senegalese flag was lowered from several public buildings and replaced by the white flag of the separatists.

Father Diamacoune Senghor, the parish priest of the village of Kafountine, while denying any direct involvement--he had in fact been put under preventive detention several days earlier--nevertheless, loudly proclaimed his nationalist convictions before the court: "Our grandfathers," he declared, "always told us that Casamance was not a part of Senegal."

Even though it expected an upsurge of agitation in connection with the trial, the Senegalese Government--which, according to official sources, had hoped to see the proceedings end with a verdict of clemency--was undeniably surprised by Tuesday's violence. This year it had committed itself to take measures which it believed responded to Casamancian aspirations, particularly with respect to the region's representation in the National Assembly, the government, and the policymaking bodies of the ruling Socialist Party /PS/. The security services, for their part, felt that they had fully "penetrated" the MFDC. It seems that

in the course of pursuing a local initiative--the sensitivity of which those responsible had not thoroughly considered--the policemen who were so savagely attacked had been sent Tuesday into the sacred woods of Diabir in total ignorance of the traditional taboos and, what is more, at a moment that was very inopportune due to the trial then taking place in Dakar.

The Diolas of Basse Casamance are becoming increasingly bitter about the "wolofization" being progressively imposed on their region by the tens of thousands of Senegalese from the central region of the country who, driven out by the drought, have for the last 30 years been seeking refuge in the woodlands of Casamance, burning them and turning them into peanut fields, while at the same time Islam is gradually supplanting the traditional animist religion and the Catholicism inherited from the old Portuguese colonists.* Confronted with this wave of nationalism, Senegal's leaders appear to be singularly helpless.

*Basse Casamance (a region located between Gambia, the vicinity of Ziguinchor, Guinea-Bissau and the Atlantic Ocean), as opposed to the whole of Casamance (the entire southern administrative region of the country), only became a part of Senegal in 1866, when Portugal ceded it to France in exchange for fishing rights at Terre-Neuve.

9516

CSO: 3419/259

OPPOSITION FRONT REJECTS PRESIDENT'S APPEAL

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 3-4 Dec 83 p 3

/Article by A. B.: "'The Front Is Not a Superficial Reaction by the Opposition'"

/Text/ Suxxali Reew Mi (Anti-Imperialist Action Front), incorporating four opposition parties (LCT /Communist Workers League/, MDP /Peoples Democratic Movement/, PAI /African Independence Party/ and PPS /Senegalese People's Party/), held its first press conference Wednesday afternoon at "Peoples House" in Guediawaye, with numerous militants in attendance.

Mr Majmout Diop read a statement describing the events leading up to creation of the Front. The election campaign and the way the presidential and legislative elections were carried out, he said, "showed with still more clarity the absolute necessity for opposition parties to join forces." Its leaders do not view creation of the Front as a superficial opposition reaction. It is the result of a long process "which finds its source in our people's tradition of struggle and which is supported by the men and women who have been thrust to the forefront of the historical scene by our people's struggle." Having assimilated the lessons of the past and regarding the future with confidence, "Suxxali Reew Mi is sure to make its contribution to the liberation and building of the fatherland." The Front's objective is "to put an end to the neocolonial PS /Socialist Party/ regime, to bring renewal to Senegal and to contribute to African unity." The Front is headed by a president, in the person of Mr Mamadou Dia, and the general secretary is Mr Majmout Diop. The Front's organs are the people's national council and the executive bureau.

Mamadou Dia says the Front is an example of transcending ideological differences, generation gaps, etc. It is also an example which he is sure will spread. Responding to a question, Mr Dia said there are differences between COSU /Coordination of the United Senegalese Opposition/ and the Front. COSU, he said, answered the needs of a time when only three parties were authorized /to engage in political activity/. In COSU, decisions were taken by unanimous vote, and this was an impediment, while in the Front they are taken by two-thirds majority.

The other difference is that COSU is an alliance at the top, while Suxxali Reew Mi is an alliance from the bottom to the top. Moreover, the Front is open to mass organizations. The Front, Majmout Diop said, has adopted internal bylaws

and has taken as the starting point for discussion of its charter the old COSU platform, "which had the undeniable virtue of having been signed, in its time, by six organizations of the patriotic opposition." The Front rejects the appeal of President Abdou Diouf, "because that would be to bow to the local bourgeoisie." In rejecting that appeal, he said, "we are being consistent with our own positions, because with Abdou Diouf nothing has changed." The Front does not believe that contacts between the head of state and the opposition would serve any useful purpose.

9516

CSO: 3419/259

PS REPORTED TO BE DEEPLY DIVIDED WITHIN ITSELF

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French No 95, 15 Dec 83 p 12

[Editorial by Mam Less Dia: "Crisis Within the Socialist Party"]

[Excerpt] Contradictions within the Socialist Party, the party ruling our country, are no longer of secondary importance. They no longer boil down to a mere struggle for influence, to a peaceful confrontation among "institutionalized" trends that would be a genial illustration of internal democracy. No! Contradictions within the Socialist Party are past this stage. They take place in an atmosphere of antagonism and they may well become irreconcilable before the opening of the next extraordinary congress, which has been convened under conditions that are well known, and by Abdou Diouf alone. Under his and no one else's responsibility.

What is then the nature of these contradictions? What is it that fuels them and why is it that they subtly appear to be antagonistic?

If we are to understand the manifestations of the internal war which is taking place within the Socialist Party, we should first circumscribe it in time in order to identify its most highly significant moments. Actually, the Socialist Party's crisis dates back to the cabinet reshuffle of last April, which was essentially marked by the abolition of the position of prime minister--a position which was held by the present president of the National Assembly, the party's number two man--and the fact that the new cabinet included personalities whose sole political characteristic was that they supported the president's policy, and who had no political ties with Socialist Party hierarchies.

As is known, the reshuffle marked a break with the usual practice of the ruling party. It was a challenge to the long-standing order of priority according to which no one could become a minister unless he had been elected or appointed to a position of responsibility within the party, at least as general secretary to coordination.

The natural consequence of the reshuffle was the creation of a coterie of frustrated people who were edged out and now feel as in a political coma, the irreversible prelude to total and final death. Quite understandably, such a set of frustrated people will look for a new balance of the country's decision-making organs. Just as understandably, that same group--which until now had full control over the party--will take advantage of all crises, all poli-

tical means available within the party, to undermine the government's power, ridicule the newcomers and persuade the president that his post-election decision is unpopular.

If the president of the National Assembly had chosen to denounce the activities of this fractious group, or if he had used his considerable authority within the party to thwart them, they would never have presented a serious threat to President Diouf. But his active neutrality, interpreted as passive complicity, places President Diouf in an uncomfortable position, as he wants both to preserve his old political friendships and to honor the new demands of his mission: to rally all the Senegalese around the essential in order to save democracy.

President Diouf's position is all the more uncomfortable as the dissident group is now trying to isolate him by leading an insidious campaign of calumnies against his most reliable and most responsible associates, especially Jean Collin whom they want to remove at all cost from the General Secretariat to the Presidency, and Moustapha Niasse whom they want to supplant or at least to double as political secretary of the Socialist Party, since they cannot send him to Addis-Ababa as general secretary of the OAU. According to extremely reliable information, the dissidents have insistently asked neighboring chiefs of state to try and persuade Diouf to part from Collin.

As President Diouf sees it, the development of the Socialist Party and the consolidation of what it has achieved imply that there will no longer be sudden and unexpected appointments, that the Socialist Party will become truly accessible to all, and that a high-level dialogue will take place between his party, which he wants to become a spearhead for national reawakening, and the opposition political formations that would want to share in the collective reawakening.

In the eyes of the dissidents, the party's defenses must be reinforced, as there is no other way to prevent the massive entry of Dioufist intellectuals, either communists or conservatives or liberals but all united by the same faith in the president's integrity and the same determination to help him succeed.

There is no doubt that the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Party that will open on 21 January will be dominated by the confrontation of these two positions. Already, under the influence of dissidents at the National Assembly, some circles in the Socialist Party have secretly adopted resolutions asking for the abolition of Dioufist movements such as COSAPAD [Committee to Support President Abdou Diouf's Policy] and the integration of these movements into the party.

The dissidents have been especially active since the extraordinary congress was announced, and their primary objective is to find a majority that will consciously decide to dissolve the COSAPAD. After which, they will tackle the GRESEN [Group for Meetings and Exchanges for a New Senegal], which they see as their main enemy. To this end, they are making alliances, even with the opposition, and in-depth action has been undertaken at the CNTS [National Confederation of Senegalese Workers] where one Omar Thiam is increasingly distinguishing himself by his talents as a zealous propagandist.

STATE REPORTEDLY AVOIDING ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE IN CASAMANCE

Dakar TAKUSAAN in French 20 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by special correspondent in Casamance: "When the State is Sitting on the Fence"]

[Excerpts] Ziguinchor, 12 December. Some people in a region are threatening to secede, attack the police (for the second time), killing four men. For much less, many regimes in Africa and even in the world would take drastic measures, for instance declaring a "state of emergency," and would place the region on a war footing. No such thing happened in Casamance. The army, the gendarmerie and the police are of course on location in large numbers, and those who are not are confined to their barracks: but it is not to enforce the law brutally.

No curfew, no identity controls. No more is done than to guard strategic points in the town and send patrols even into the bush. It is as if the state were trying to quiet things down, to impose peace through peace, instead of showing off its superior force and be done with the separatists once and for all.

There may be several reasons for that.

As paradoxical as it may seem, the events of Diabir may have served the Senegalese government. The horrible death inflicted upon four policemen and gendarmes by the separatists have aroused the sympathy of many people in Casamance who will not go along with such atrocities. "We are all for giving Casamance due political and economic consideration, but we cannot condone such acts," they say. Under these conditions, acting in a more brotherly manner than the other party is a sure way to attract the sympathetic trend that has developed, and this is just what the government is doing when it refuses to fight a battle that might lead to bloodshed, even though the government could not lose.

Actually, resorting to force would only aggravate the situation in a region where solidarity is not an empty word and where, even if not all militate in the Movement of Democratic Forces in Casamance, they nevertheless unanimously agree that

the economy of Casamance has been neglected and "its cultural and historical specificity ignored" (witness Queen Alice Sitoye whose death, after she had been exiled by the French colonists, remained a mystery for 40 years).

The best tactic, therefore, and the one which the government appears to have adopted, is to make sure that peace is restored and to avoid an escalation of violence that might bring into play mechanisms of solidarity and family ties. Such ties ignore borders. And people in Guinee-Bissau are certainly not about to forget that they found asylum among their Senegalese brothers when they were fighting for their independence; they certainly would not pay much attention to what Abdou Diouf and Nino Vieyra may have told each other at their recent meeting, and would offer their Senegalese brothers a great rear base.

Another factor is that Casamance, together with Petite-Cote, is one of our major tourism centers. Tourism is one of our main economic resources, like peanuts and phosphates. And now that the latter two are no longer bringing much profit, due to the drought and the drop in world prices, we should preserve our country's attractions and promote their sale. But tourists will not go where peace does not reign. Therefore, we must have peace in Casamance and make sure that visitors are not shocked by drastic military measures.

Considering the disastrous economic situation which is also plaguing our country, it is in the government's own best interest to give our country the image of a peaceful country, not that of a region in a state of war; this is very important to foreign investors. We must also show that we are far from being in a state of red alert, that the separatist movement has no real strength, and to do so we must avoid a deployment of forces that would make people believe we have to do with a powerful movement. Already, the minister of information regrets very much the publicity which French media have given to the events, and especially the way these were presented.

There are many reasons, therefore, which may have induced the government not to put the region on a war footing. Actually, the situation is quite surprising, especially for the soldiers in Ziguinchor. They wonder: "If the BMS [Bloc for the Senegalese Masses] (the intelligence service) has sufficiently infiltrated the movement and is in a position to keep the government informed of everything it does, why don't they tell us where they are so we can be done with them once and for all?" However, the government appears to have adopted a different tactic, that of appeasement. Peace has therefore been restored, but nothing indicates that it will last; members of the movement are still at large, and some of them are the perpetrators of the Diabir crimes.

To defuse the situation entirely, there are two solutions.

One is to start political negotiations, especially since the separatist movement is essentially perceived as the expression of rivalries within the Socialist Party, or may even have been supported by rival groups in the Socialist Party of the south. Now that the movement, as it appears, is no longer manipulated by them, all there is to do is to sit around a table and negotiate conditions that will unite Senegal in peace.

Or else, the government must take advantage of the peace that has now been restored to implement a true development policy that will silence the resentment of a population which feels neglected.

In that case, the government should make sure that one region is not privileged at the expense of the others merely for the sake of preserving the country's integrity. Actually, many regions of the country are also neglected, although not as badly as Casamance.

At a time when the desert is gaining ground at an accelerated rate, the south of the country remains the only green paradise and, as one agricultural technician recently pointed out during an ORTS [Senegalese Radio and Television Office] program: "Casamance possesses huge potentialities; if they were developed, the whole country would benefit from them." This is far from being a new idea. Indeed, it has been obvious for a long time. But apart from political speeches claiming priority for agricultural development, no truly rational efforts have been made to derive as many resources as possible from the land. And especially not from the Casamance land.

It is not only the region's agriculture that has been forgotten. "Go to the labor office," we were told. "Dozens of people are going there every day to find a problematic job. It is always in vain. Even when a building site opens in Casamance (and usually Dakar entrepreneurs get the contract), contractors will come here with their own laborers. As if there were not men able to work in Casamance. Look at the people in the Fleuve region: at least, they benefited from the construction of Diama; on the few occasions when they condescend to build here, there is nothing for us to gain."

Therefore, a lot remains to be done in this region (and in all other regions as well) to create a more relaxed situation. And the populations should not be lulled with more radio programs* on potentialities and projects for the region; what is needed is concrete work.

The latter solution may prove the best, the one that will meet the legitimate demands of a population which, otherwise, might some day become the active rank-and-file of the separatist movement. It would also enable the state to save face for, now that the desert is advancing inexorably, nothing is more rational than making Casamance the keystone of a policy of food self-sufficiency. Apart from all political considerations, it would be in the best interest of both parties.

9294

CSO: 3419/274

* We should mention that the programs investigating the Casamance economy had been prepared before the Diabir events.

FAVORABLE TRADE BALANCE FOR 1983 REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Dec 83 p 15

[Text]

SOUTH Africa recorded a favourable trade balance of R4 544,8-million for the first 11 months of this year, according to preliminary trade statistics released in Pretoria by the Commissioner for Customs and Excise.

Exports totalled R18 892,4-million, compared with R17 392,5-million for the corresponding period last year.

Total imports for the period stood at R14 347,6-million, compared with R16 941,5-million for 1982.

The figures were adjusted largely to bring them into line with the requirements for the compilation of the country's balance of payments.

A breakdown of the figures shows that Europe remained the major importer of South African goods, with exports, there totalling R5 380,2-million.

Asia was South Africa's second biggest trading partner, with imports from the Republic totalling R2 395,3-million.

Exports to America fetched R1 830,1-million, while exports to Africa and Oceania realised R744,6-million and R105,6-million respectively.

Exports of other unclassified goods and balance of payments adjustments amounted in total to R8 410,2-million, while ship's and aircraft stores totalled R26,4-million.

Europe also remained the largest supplier of goods to South Africa, with the figure topping R6 107,8-million.

South Africa imported goods worth R2 775,2-million from America, while imports from Asia totalled R2 485,6-million.

Imports from Africa and Oceania amounted to R301,3-million and R168,7-million respectively. — Sapa.

SLUGGISH ECONOMIC GROWTH EXPECTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Dec 83 p 21

[Text]

WHAT was going to be a year of sturdy recovery for the South African economy now seems likely to be one of very sluggish growth.

Economists here have become more and more pessimistic about the economy's prospects for 1984 as this year has progressed.

A failure by the financial authorities to control Government spending and money supply growth, coupled with gold's poor performance and the lingering effects of the drought, have been the chief reasons why optimism has waned.

Although they predict that real gross domestic product will grow next year — by some 2,5 to 4,5 percent compared with a drop of about three percent this year — such expansion is likely to be

more of a statistical illusion than an illustration of robust economic advance.

This illusion will be brought about by an increase in inventories after two years in which they were dramatically run down, and a strong positive growth rate in agriculture with normal rains hoped for after last season's disastrous drought.

Writing about the turnaround in inventory investment, Barclays Bank economist Johan Cloete said this increase "would not mean that the volume of goods and services demanded and sold in the economy has actually increased, except to the extent that stocks might actually show a small positive increase."

Economists are also sceptical about the help that the country's export-

orientated economy will receive from overseas.

They said that the extent and nature of the world recovery is likely to provide only a modest boost to South African exports, particularly those of primary products.

"The US recovery is based in high technology rather than heavy industry and that does not use our minerals as much," commented one economist.

Nor can much help be expected from bullion, which has flattered only to deceive on a number of occasions this year.

With US interest expected to remain high, forecasts of an average price for 1984 range between \$420 and \$440 against about R420 this year.

CSO: 3400/463

ESCALATED COST OF NEW ERGO PLANT REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Dec 83 p 20

[Text] **THE new Ergo plant to be erected on the East Rand to treat material from eleven slimes dams, will cost about R118-million in escalated terms.**

At the same time Ergo will build a new tailings dam at a cost of R31,5-million, also in escalated terms.

This information was made available yesterday

with the announcement that Ergo and East Daggafontein (EDM) reached a detailed agreement in principle on a scheme concerning the treatment of slimes dams on the Far East Rand.

EDM shareholders will be asked in January to vote in favour of certain resolutions which, if accepted, will lead to the signing of formal agreements.

According to the scheme, all 12 slimes dams concerned are to be rationalised into a single dump — owning company, Dumpco, which is to be a wholly owned subsidiary of EDM.

The new plant will be able to treat 1-million tons of slimes a month and will make use of the carbon-in-leach process. Conversion, however, is envisaged to the flotation process in the late 1990s.

The new plant will treat only eleven of the slimes dams concerned. The remaining dam that is the existing Ergo tailings dam, is to be treated in the present Ergo plant.

To preserve this dam, Ergo will build the new

R31,5-million tailings dam. Ergo will also acquire Dam 5L26 from a subsidiary of EDM for 375 000 Ergo shares. Ergo shares are trading at the moment around 900c, which means the cost involved will be about R3,4-million.

Dumpco will acquire from Ergo slimes dams —

or the rights to slimes dams — for R24,6-million. The purchase price is payable by way of R11-million in February 1984, R10-million in February 1985, and R3,6-million in February 1986.

As a result of the consolidation of dams, Dumpco will have reserves of about 410-million tons of slimes. One of the reasons for converting the new plant from a car-

bon-pulp operation to a flotation process — hopefully in 1997 — is to enable it to treat a further 140-million tons, which are better suited to treatment by the flotation process.

The circular to EDM shareholders also outlines how the Dumpco agreement will operate. Anglo American Corporation will administer Dumpco, while Ergo will treat the slimes.

According to the technical advisers cost of operating the new Daggafontein plant will be covered by a gold price of around \$200 an ounce. With gold at \$300, the plant's operating costs as well as capital expenditure will be covered. Ergo will buy its slimes material from Dumpco

based on a formula which should result in considerable benefits accruing to EDM at a gold price of \$400-420.

EDM also plans a rights issue for R26-million. Terms will be published on January 13 next.

The listing of EDM will also be changed on the

JSE from the "Curtailed Operations" to "Gold, Witwatersrand and others" sector.

According to UAL, the merchant bank handling the deal, Dumpco's R4 000 authorised share capital will be divided into 3 800 'A' ordinary shares of R1 each for

which EDM will subscribe at par, and 200 "B" ordinary of R1 each which will be issued to Anglo American.

Ergo hopes to finance the new plant and the new tailings dam partly out of the R24,6-million it will receive from Dumpco.

The rest will come from funds in the form of convertible debentures offered to ordinary shareholders. The terms will be announced later.

CSG: 3400/463

EDITORIAL COMMENT, REPORTAGE ON INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

Coordination Council Progress

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 Dec 83 p 22

[Editorial: "The Role of Local Governments"]

[Text] The role of local governments--the so-called third-level government--in the new constitutional system has yet to be worked out, but it is already known that these governments are destined to play a much more important role than they do now. The prime minister, Mr P. W. Botha, has already said on occasion that they will eventually be the cornerstone of democratic government in the nation.

The announcement this week of the composition of the Council for the Coordination of Local Government Affairs, which will be created on 1 January, is proof that the government wants in all seriousness to keep the momentum of the reform process going. The council, which will consist of whites, coloreds and Indians, will advise the government on district, metropolitan and local government affairs. And although the council will have no executive powers, it can nonetheless play an important role in promoting more pertinent government at lower government levels.

At the same time, the creation of the council is a continuation of the process of consultation between whites, colored and Indian which is such a fundamental element of the new constitutional system. In that system, it will be of less use if communication occurs only on the level of the central government, especially since it is a cardinal premise of the government's constitutional guidelines that there must be a maximal devotion of authority.

Discussions in the just-announced council offer a unique opportunity for white, colored and Indian to gain a greater understanding of each other's needs and problems and to seek common solutions. For this, a continuous climate of good will will be a prerequisite.

Whatever ultimate form the third-level government takes, the electorate will gain a much larger responsibility. They will become much more actively involved in the affairs that affect their immediate community.

Election Prospects for 1984

Pretoria DIE PATROOT in Afrikaans 1 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Koos Botha: "Early Election Put Forward More Strongly"]

[Text] With a number of interim elections in the wind, the possibility of a general election in 1984 is coming considerably closer.

Mr P. W. Botha's joy about his marriage to the NRP [New Republic Party] and his piracy of PFP [Progressive Federal Party] supporters may make him decide to take advantage of his victories and get rid of the PFP. The NRP may be undramatically incorporated into the NP [National Party] after a general election. In Natal, such a coalition or stringing together will keep the PFP out of provincial office.

Towards the Right, the prime minister's advisors believe that the divisiveness between the KP [Conservative Party] and the HNP [Reconstituted National Party] provides an opportunity to bear up against his greatest threat, the threat from the Right. Information from voting listdistricts indicates that NP members of parliament from border districts are exerting pressure on their party to hold an early election. If the tendency continues that the HNP and KP draw most of the votes, but the NP wins the seat, the rightists might be dealt a big setback.

Interim Elections

All these considerations point to an election in the first half of 1984. If this does not happen, a whole group of interim elections will in all probability have to be held again.

Mr J. H. B. Ungerer from Sasolburg and J. P. du Toit from Vryburg are weak in health and, in addition, informed observers expect that Mr Botha will get rid of Ministers S. F. Kotze and L. A. P. A. Munnik. This will make Parow and Durbanville vacant.

An interim election must be held in Pinetown where the PFP representative, Mr S. A. Pitman, died. Mr S. P. Botha resigned from his Soutpansberg seat.

It is not Mr P. W. Botha's style to hold early general elections, and if he were thus to resist his party's pressure in this respect, it in fact seems certain that approximately six interim elections will be held in the coming months.

In rightist circles, pressure is also being exerted on leaders to achieve cooperation so that Mr P. W. Botha's abdication obsession can be stopped. The white man's salvation can only come from the Right, and the feeling appears to be strong that mutual discord ought to be cleared away.

NP's Challenge in Transvaal

Pretoria DIE BEELD in Afrikaans 29 Nov 83 p 8

Editorial: "NP's Task"

Text After the lingering unrest and instability in the Transvaal National Party NP over the course of many years, a greater calm and a combative spirit have set in in recent times--and the nicest fruit of it was the magnificent contribution to the victory for yes made by our province. With the preparation of a new organizational structure last week, the NP continued its process of renewal, and it could not have come at a more exciting moment in time than the beginning of the new constitutional system.

Part of the struggle has been won in the one province that holds the key to South African politics. But in spite of the great purity discovered by the NP after the Treurnicht faction broke away, there remains enormous work to be done in persuading others. Is it not Transvaal that continues to produce far-rightist groups, that is the source of so many smear and gossip stories and where religion is misused horribly for political purposes? Is it not also the heart of the leftist policy of one man, one voice in South Africa?

Against this background, work and more work is necessary. A large party like the NP must not only set the tone with renewing thoughts, but must also operate successfully on a grass roots level. And this means contact, a readiness to listen and face problems, and a patient clarification of what exactly the new political developments in this country mean.

May the leadership of the NP in Transvaal thus show that it will help direct politics much more easily in the direction of a peaceful solution. With Soutpansberg and other tasks lying ahead, this will be a challenging time for the NP with its new team.

Implications of Niehaus Case

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 28 Nov 83 p 10

Editorial: "High Treason"

Text Treason touches on the most sensitive nerves of a people's existence. For that reason, the high treason case in Johannesburg last week in which two young Afrikaners were found guilty and sentenced for this serious crime should attract special attention.

Unfortunately, treason is not unknown among Afrikaners. There was what happened in the Second War of Independence The Second Anglo-Boer War, which some people today would rather sweep under the rug. Following that war, a talented young man came from one of the best-known Afrikaner families, the Fischers, and became a leader of the South African Communist Party, with its revolutionary intents.

There were others who were credulous and scatterbrained, even people who thought that they were acting out of the most noble considerations. Quisling, the modern personification of treason, indeed thought that he was acting with the most noble Norwegian motives.

Criticism of the government and society is, moreover, not unknown in Afrikaner society, but there comes a stage at which the line between loyal opposition and treason can be crossed and the nation's security laws transgressed.

This happened in the case of Carl Niehaus and his girlfriend. According to the trial judge, Niehaus favored a socialist state if the present system were to be overthrown; he was not only against "apartheid," but against the capitalist system. He excused violence in order to achieve his goal.

For most democratically inclined Afrikaners, it is incomprehensible that anyone can support the aims and politics of violence of the ANC, permeated with Communism as it is. Are not the lessons of African "socialism" clear enough then? And are not the dismal uniformity, the centralized oppression, the labor camps, the food lines and the state of being left behind economically in communist states then precisely an example of what should not be strived for?

Such considerations obviously do not always convince even certain young Afrikaners who are concerned about the South African system.

Thus the sentencing of Niehaus and his girlfriend, justified under the circumstances, must not be merely accepted and forgotten, even though it is believed that they were extremely deluded and even if their aims and methods are most strongly being condemned.

It also means that South Africans who want to continue to uphold civilized norms will have to exert themselves towards even greater success on behalf of a more just system for everyone here. It is based on such considerations that the prime minister recently said that South Africa must make "more beautiful music" than the communists.

New PFP Policy

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 21 Nov 83 p 10

[Editorial: "Turnabout"]

[Text] The turnabout by the Progressive Federal Party [PFP] away from its sterile policy of boycotts towards "constructive participation" in the new constitutional system has to do with survival and not with a change in inclination. The most significant fact to surface at the federal congress of the PFP is that the top leadership is in the hands of the party's leftist power circle to a much greater extent than before.

It is obvious that this swing was brought about by the referendum. Even the extreme leftists in the party had to realize that they are in danger of being ousted as official opposition if the voters vote in the coming general election as they did in the referendum. Because the judgment of the people was clearly against extremist fringe elements and in favor of reason.

The PFP leadership realized, moreover, that it is assured of the support of the far Left. To whom else can they turn? That is why there is now the attempt to bring moderates who in the past have voted Progressive back into the fold through a show of reason and responsibility.

The strategy of using Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to try to drive away white voters apparently did not work. The Progressive leadership evidently decided that that method is counterproductive, thus Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's promise not to obstruct the government's task of gaining the support of coloreds and Indians. That is why there was only a vote of thanks to Chief Buthelezi, a quick assurance that the PFP did not misuse him, and the congress dropped the subject.

A split was averted by sidestepping a point-blank collision between the two wings of the party, and throwing the whole weight of the left wing behind the turnabout by announcing at an early stage the support of Boraine, Suzman and Eglin for it.

The question is now whether the PFP can sell its new strategy to its youth movement and its other allies, such as the Black Sash. Will Buthelezi find the President's Council less offensive if the Progressives cooperate in it? And will the PFP be able to maintain its unity until the coming election without a large part of its supporters seeing through its little plan?

On Education

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 23 Nov 83 p 6

[Editorial: "A Sign of Danger"]

[Text] A dark omen for white education is the practice which is gaining ground at schools more and more of compensating educators for all sorts of "extras" from school funds. As reported last week, a school in Pretoria has begun to collect a huge amount of money that will in part be used for this purpose.

One obvious result of this will be that educators at schools in well-to-do areas will be better off than their colleagues at schools in less well-to-do areas. Educators, and especially competent educators, will in this way be lured to schools where they can enjoy these fringe benefits, with an accompanying drop in educational standards at schools in poorer neighborhoods.

Present happenings tend in the same direction as events in the United States, where poorer children ultimately had to be content with black instructors.

Many good white instructors transferred in due course to white schools in well-to-do neighborhoods where they could earn considerably larger salaries.

Large amounts of money that are now collected by schools are not, however, intended first and foremost for the compensation of instructors, but to maintain existing amenities or create new ones. This is coupled with an ever greater burden on the shoulders of parents who in many cases can scarcely afford it.

The state has an obligation to whites to see to it that schools cannot be eventually divided into "rich" and "poor" schools. Schools must be made capable of supplying, within limits, their own needs from state grants. Then the emolument of educators and other corrupt practices will disappear as well.

In recent years, whites have gone through a process of gradual impoverishment. Under no circumstances is it allowable that the education of our youth be affected by this.

Griqua Identity

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 16 Nov 83 p 16

[Editorial: "Griqua Identity"]

[Text] The Griqua people are a minority in a land of minorities, but one that has kept its identity over the years. And this without their own territory, because Griqualand West and Griqualand East today are merely regional names indicating no right of ownership, only historical witness to the migrations of peoples under a British government with dreams of a buffer strip on the eastern frontier--in an area without diamonds.

In spite of the dreams of a homeland which live on in certain Griqua hearts, the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council has found, after a comprehensive investigation, that the majority of Griquas do not agree with the idea, wish to practice their politics by means of the colored House of Representatives, and wish to administrate for themselves only on the local level, although they of course want to have a say in affairs that affect them. They request economic help that will enable them to help themselves, but do not pin their hopes on laws for the perpetuation of their identity and culture.

This is a realistic approach in a land of many peoples: pride and preservation of one's own, but at the same time the realization that withdrawal from society at large will cause more problems than it will solve; rejection of the creation of unnatural homelands (in contrast to the natural, existing black population areas), but determination to remain oneself.

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CSO: 3401/30

CP HITS EXCLUSION OF COLOREDS, INDIANS FROM ARMY DUTY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Dec 83 p 4

[Text]

THE Conservative party welcomed the government's move yesterday to provide for military service for immigrants who qualify for citizenship, but scorned that Coloureds and Indians were still excluded from army duty.

The party's Defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe said: "The comprehensive measures

to ensure immigrants do military service are welcome and in line with the principle that all citizens must defend the country."

"But why is compulsory military service for Coloureds and Indians — who will be the constitutional equals of the Whites in the new dispensation — not also introduced?" he asked.

"To compel Whites and now also immigrants to do military service, but to exclude the sons of Indians and Coloureds, is an outrage against the White and the immigrant."

"The fact that the Coloureds and Indians are not obliged to do military service because their leaders — the Rev Alan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi — refuse,

indicates the unfairness and impracticality of the new dispensation," Mr Van der Merwe said.

"The government has become the political prisoner of its Indian and Coloured associates because they would withdraw from the new constitution if they (the government) dared to act against their wishes," he said. — Sapa

CSO: 3400/463

PROPOSED MILITARY CALL-UP OF IMMIGRANTS EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Dec 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Call-up"]

[Text] THERE'S going to be a lot of heartburning among some immigrants because of the proposed law under which they will be called up after five years in the country, or lose their permanent residence.

The argument of these immigrants is that they came to South Africa because South Africa offered them jobs or because it advertised the potentials of the country.

If they had known they had to serve in our forces, they would not have settled here.

Others say that they may still be called up by their countries of origin.

They cannot be expected to be subject to the call-up in South Africa as well.

The counter-argument is that by taking out permanent residence, they have shown their willingness to make South Africa their home.

Not only that. They are benefitting from the opportunities South Africa offers them.

Why should they earn a good living here — in many instances, a living that is far more substantial than the one they had in their home countries — and not share the burden of defending the country?

Put another way:

Why should South Africans have to undergo the rigours of two years in the forces while they are able to escape military service?

As the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr FW de Klerk, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, point out in a joint statement, immigrants liable for conscription evade military service without fear of losing permanent residence by indicating, when registering, that they do not want to become South African citizens.

This is causing increasing dissatisfaction among South African national servicemen

and other citizens, who are demanding that there should be equal treatment between South Africans and resident immigrants.

The Ministers state that an untenable situation has been reached "because young immigrants who may not legally be subjected to military service advertise this fact and even confront those performing military service with their so-called favoured position."

Young immigrants also progress unhindered in their studies and careers, and "so build up a lead over those who have to do national service."

Job preference also goes to those not doing military service.

These are valid points.

Children of immigrants can go through school knowing they won't be called up, that they don't have to make any sacrifices with regard to university education, and that they will get jobs from employers who are unpatriotic enough to rule out youngsters who have to go into the army and then have to serve camps for years afterwards.

There are, of course, immigrants who volunteer for military service. They too, will be only too happy to see that the immigrants who evade service are no longer able to do so.

In terms of the proposed legislation, the period for qualification for citizenship will be extended from two to five years.

All immigrants between the ages of 15 and 25 who do not wish to become South African citizens after the five-year period will automatically forfeit their permanent residence rights.

All immigrants who complete the five-year period will automatically become South African citizens unless they declare timeously that they do not wish to do so.

The new law will make it harder to attract settlers from overseas, since people who contemplate emigrating to South Africa may think twice when they know they will be liable to conscription.

Other immigrants may choose to leave rather than face the prospect of being called up.

However, the Government has rightly made a stand because of the iniquitous situation that has developed.

Now immigrants with permanent residence will have to make the same sacrifices as South African citizens.

And that is as it should be.
for if the country is worth
living in, it is worth fighting
for.

CSO: 3400/463

BRIEFS

LAND FOR MISSILE RANGE--It may still take several months before the Department of Community development begins buying land for Armscor's missile range on the Bredasdorp coast in the Cape. The department announced yesterday that the necessary preparatory work such as obtaining deed reports and diagrams of the properties as well as the names and addresses of the owners, had reached an advanced stage. The department said that valuers should start work in the middle of January next year. "The valuations, which include a thorough investigation of property values in the area and a physical inspection of each of the properties may take several months," the department said. Each landowner will be contacted to afford him an opportunity of submitting any information which in their opinion should be taken into consideration. After decisions have been reached, negotiations will be entered into with each owner. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Dec 83 p 10]

REGISTERED VOTERS--According to the latest statistics, there are nearly three million registered White voters in South Africa, 700 000 Coloureds and 300 000 Indians, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said in Pretoria yesterday. The exact figures--as on September 30 this year--in a statement released by the minister "for general information" are 2 844 609, 669 967, and 295 523, respectively. The figures for the Coloured and Indian communities are particularly important as tests of opinion on their participation in the new constitution to be implemented next year still have to be carried out, either in the form of referendums or elections, or both. No firm decision has yet been taken in this regard. According to Mr De Klerk's statement, the Provincial breakdown for Coloureds is as follows: Cape--596 896, Natal--14 238, Orange Free State--13 200, and Transvaal--45 633. A similar breakdown for the Indian community is: Cape--7 811, Natal--247 837, and Transvaal--39 875. The breakdown for White registered voters is: Cape--809 506, Natal--329 695, Orange Free State--222 619, and Transvaal--1 482 789. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Dec 83 p 2]

CSO: 3400/463

ROMANIA, HUNGARY, GDR TO PROVIDE VIJANA WITH EXPERTS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 23 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by Boniface Byarugaba]

[Excerpt]

ROMANIA, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) have agreed to provide the Tanzania Youth Organization (VIJANA) with experts who will help establish productive youth brigades in the country.

VIJANA Secretary General, Ndugu Mohamed Seif Khatibu, told a press conference in Dar es Salaam yesterday that the trio had agreed in principle to provide the experts, especially in agriculture.

He was talking after a tour of Yugoslavia, Romania, Soviet Union, GDR, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria from November 1 to December 20, this year. He had led a four-member delegation.

VIJANA signed friendship agreements with all the countries, he said. Delegations from the socialist countries have been invited to attend the VIJANA electoral national congress to be held in Arusha between March 15 and March 20, this year.

The countries also offered VIJANA educational vacancies for Tanzania youths.

The Soviet Union will provide between 15 and 20 places for higher education and two for cadreship; Bulgaria — one for higher education and two for study

tour; Hungary — one for higher education, and Romania — two on youth leadership.

Romania also pledged to train music cadres and invited VIJANA to next year's pioneer camp while Czechoslovakia would provide sports gear and GDR would train youth leaders.

VIJANA offered one place to the Soviet Union and another to the GDR for study at the Zanzibar-based Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages.

Ndugu Khatibu said VIJANA agreed with youth organisations of the seven countries to co-operate in fighting colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, fascism and zionism.

They also pledged to co-operate in assisting ruling parties and governments in their respective countries in building socialism. The organisations would exchange delegations at least once in two years.

He said VIJANA assured the organisations that Tanzania supported efforts aimed at attaining world peace and reducing East-West tension.

He said they learnt a lot from their counterparts, particularly on the question of mobilising youths in building socialism.

BELGIUM PLEDGES CONTINUED FINANCIAL AID TO MARINE TRANSPORT

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 28 Dec 83 p 1

[Excerpt]

THE Belgian Secretary of State for Development Cooperation, Mr Francois de Donnea, has pledged his government's continued financial assistance to Tanzania in developing marine transport.

He said Tanzania was admired for her courageous effort to develop her economy, adding that Belgium had been following with sympathy and keen interest Tanzania's achievements.

Speaking at a dinner hosted in his honour by the Tanzania Railways Corporation (RTC) on Monday night, The Secretary of State said success in the Strengthening the transport sector was of vital importance not only for the social and economic development of Tanzania, but also for the economies of neighbouring countries.

He said the signing of a cooperation agreement in Mwanza between Tanzania and Belgium in 1977 had created favourable condition for his government's continued support in developing transport systems on lakes Victoria and Tanganyika.

He said during his stay in the country, he would hold talks with Government officials in Dar es Salaam with a view to strengthening the existing ties.

Welcoming him, the Deputy Minister for Communications and Transport, Ndugu Henry Limihagati, thanked the Belgian government for assisting Tanzania acquire five ships for marine transportation. The ships are *mv Mwongozo* and *mv Sangara* in Kigoma, *mv Bukoba*, *mv Butiana* and a tug boat *mv Ukerewe* in Mwanza.

CSO: 3400/487

CANADIAN-TANZANIAN FINANCED WHEAT PLAN REPORTED FAILURE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by Henry Reuter]

[Text]

DAR ES SALAAM — From Tanzania's wheatlands a story has emerged over the past 14 years which smacks more of fiction than the usual African government's progress report.

It began in 1970 when the Canadian International Development Agency (Cida) launched itself on a bout of do-gooding in Tanzania.

It would, it said, show Tanzania how to grow wheat on a mass scale, spending some R7 million to make the country self-sufficient in the crop.

This suited Tanzania fine. Up on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro it had a group of about 20 European wheat farmers.

Between them they were producing nearly 19 000 tons of wheat a year from farms covering a total of 8 000 ha.

This was some 40 per cent of the country's total wheat demand. But, regrettably, there was no room for white farmers in independent Tanzania and they would have to go.

At first Tanzania wanted just to kick them out without any compensation but eventually and reluctantly Britain gave Tanzania a R20 million agricultural aid grant on condition that part of it was used to buy out the white wheat farmers.

The farms were bought for a pittance. One government valuation of a 200 ha estate was R26 000 against a commercial valuer's figure of R330 000.

Out went the Europeans. The farms were handed over to government parastatals which ran them down from a production of 50 bags a hectare on the richest land to virtually nothing as the farms reverted to bush.

Nobody cared very much. Some 200 km to the southwest Cida was developing 24 000 ha of new wheatlands to meet all the country's wheat requirements.

Now, 13 years later, it has just been reported that after the expenditure of R80 million, half provided by Canada and half by Tanzania, production is nowhere near the annual target of 35 000 to 40 000 tons by 1984.

Worse, Canadian experts have concluded that with demand rising by five percent a year the project has no hope of making Tanzania self-sufficient in wheat production.

One reason for this conclusion is fear that intensive mechanised farming techniques are already turning the new wheat region into a dust-bowl, and that yields will decrease annually.

Also, the local Barbaig tribesmen who formerly

ranged the region with their cattle complain that the land remaining to them is heavily overgrazed and critically eroded.

Canada's aid programme ends next year, and people operating it say big new investment will be needed to keep production at present levels and that Tanzanians will never be able to run it without outside help.

Ironically, Tanzania is now making an agonising reappraisal of its agriculture policies and is appealing to private individuals and companies to develop its unworked farmland, offering them the carrot of retaining overseas a percentage of returns from export crops.

But among the former wheat farmers of Mount Kilimanjaro there have been no takers. For them, once in a lifetime is enough.

JAPANESE LOAN FINANCING KILIMANJARO REGIONAL ELECTRIFICATION

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 29 Dec 83 p 3

[Excerpt]

FOUR towns and several villages in Kilimanjaro region will be using electricity by the end of next year.

The scheme financed with a 60m/- loan from Japan would cover the towns of Mwanga, Gonja, Mkuu Rombo and Hai and the nearby villages.

Talking to *Shihata* yesterday, the Managing Director of the Tanzania Electric Supply Company (TANESCO), Salvatory Mosha said the Kilimanjaro electric transmission construction and distribution work is going on well and that "if everything goes well" the work would be completed next December.

Ndugu Mosha said three electric sub-stations at Mwanga, Sanya Juu and Gonja had been built and that two others at Machame and Nyumba ya Mungu had been expanded.

He said distribution work from the sub-stations to other areas started this month and that in several places along the surveyed areas, electric poles and transmission wires had been installed.

Mosha said, the scheme, which is part of the expansion of the Kidatu grid system will encourage economic activities.

FRG TO SUPPLY FIVE MORE DIESEL ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES TO TAZARA

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 23 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by John Waluye]

[Text] Five more diesel electric locomotives worth 80m/- for the Tanzania-Zambia Railways Authority (TAZARA) are expected in the country from West Germany in the first quarter of next year, it was learnt in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

TAZARA Acting General Manager, Ndugu Anase Shayo told the Daily News that the five locomotives to be supplied through a 90m/- (20 million deutsche marks) loan by the West Germany bank for construction--Kredstantalt fur Wielderaufbau--will be concentrated on the Mlimba-Chozi stretch of the railway line.

Nine other locomotives worth 120m/- also from West Germany, arrived in the country for use on the 1,860-kilometre line between June and August this year.

Ndugu Shayo said the locomotives, which will bring to 14 the total number of diesel electric locomotives--each 3,000 horse power--were expected to considerably cut down motive power problems the line was experiencing.

He explained that the 14 DFH-2 locomotives which had been fitted with mtu engines from West Germany would be used on the Dar es Salaam-Mlimba and Chozi-Kapiri-Mposhi stretches in Zambia which have less gradient.

The Acting General Manager pointed out that the Dar es Salaam-Mlimba and Chozi-Kapiri-Mposhi stretches have each one percent gradient while the mountainous 546-kilometre Mlimba-Chozi stretch had two percent gradient.

The Mlimba-Chozi stretch, Ndugu Shayo said, which required twin DFH-2 locomotives when hauling cargo to and from Zambia would require only one of the diesel electric locomotives from West Germany.

Ndugu Shayo noted that four more DFH locomotives with 2,000 horse power were being fitted with the engines ordered from West Germany. A total of 36 engines were ordered and each DFH locomotive is fitted with two engines.

He further said that 20 more MTU engines had been ordered from West Germany to fit in the original DFH locomotives which were experiencing frequent failures, leading to high maintenance and running costs.

Agreement for the 20 engines was signed with MTU in June, this year, he said. But he did not say how much they will cost.

Ndugu Shayo said TAZARA could now haul between 90,000 and 95,000 tonnes of cargo to and from Zambia.

CSO: 3400/487

DIESEL FUEL DELIVERY TO BUKOBA TO EASE ACUTE FUEL SHORTAGE

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 25 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by Deo Mrusha]

[Text] More than 100,000 litres of diesel have been delivered to Bukoba in Kagera Region to ameliorate the acute shortage of fuel which has caused factories to shut down throughout the region.

The coffee curing plant the Coffee Processing Company (BUKOP), the Tanganyika Instant Coffee Company (TANICA) and the National Milling Corporation (NMC) are among the factories which were closed. The diesel shortage also caused an electricity black-out for Bukoba township.

The factories are expected to start operating as soon as they get their allocation of the diesel.

A spokesman for BP oil company in Bukoba has said 55,000 litres of the consignment was gas oil and the other 50,000 litres industrial diesel.

The Kagera Regional Development Director (RDD), Ndugu Christian Kisanji, said the amount of diesel delivered would be good enough for a short period because the monthly regional requirement stood at 400,000 litres.

It was not immediately known how much loss the factories which were forced to close have suffered as a result of the fuel shortage. However, the BUKOP spokesman said his company had suffered a loss of already about 75m/- in earnings since last week. BUKOP factory cures about 100 tonnes of coffee every day.

The shortage of diesel has also affected the supply of foodstuff in the region especially after the privately owned milling machines and those owned by the NMC were forced to stop for lack of fuel.

The fuel shortage has subsequently affected the price of bananas--the staple food of the region. One bunch of bananas which used to cost between 60/- to 80/- now goes for between 400/- and 600/-.

Although the Government issued a directive that fuel for Kagera Region be shipped to the region directly from Dar es Salaam instead of being allocated its share from Mwanza, the directive is yet to be effected.

CSO: 3400/487

ROAD DAMAGE SNAGS MAIZE TRANSPORT TO FOOD SHORTAGE AREA

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 28 Dec 83 p 3

[Text] Transportation of the 1,000 tonnes of maize from Iringa to Dodoma has hit a snag apparently due to a damaged section of the Iringa-Dodoma road at Fufu some 75 km south of Dodoma township, Shihata reported.

The Regional Engineer Ndugu Andrew Makulukulu said yesterday that the recent heavy rains have made the road impassable by heavy trucks. He said a team of technicians was expected to travel to Fufu yesterday to repair the road.

However, it was not immediately known how long it would take to finish the task.

Dodoma region is experiencing an acute food shortage. Until last Monday, there were only 1,873 tonnes of maize, rice and millet in the National Milling Corporation (NMC) godowns in Dodoma. The region required 150 tonnes of cereals a day.

The Dodoma Regional Development Director, Ndugu Michael Mapunda said on Monday that NMC had given permission to get 1,000 tonnes from Iringa out of 8,000 tonnes allocated to the region. Dodoma has already collected 3,000 tonnes.

The region has also been allocated 5,000 tonnes of cereals from Dar es Salaam and another 3,000 tonnes from Rukwa regions. However, it was not immediately known if these allocations could be made available now that road transportation from Iringa is held up.

CSO: 3400/487

TANGA PLANT'S CEMENT OUTPUT TO RESUME IN NEXT FOUR MONTHS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 28 Dec 83 p 1

[Text]

CEMENT production at the Tanga plant is expected to resume in the next four weeks, it was learnt yesterday.

According to a Press release issued through the Information Services division (*MAELEZO*), resumption of production would however depend on the supply of heavy fuel oil required by the plant.

The plant's kiln stopped operating on Friday because of lack of heavy oil, the statement explained.

The factory consumes 130 cubic metres of the oil a day. Daily supplies of oil had dropped to 16 cubic metres, it said.

The shortfall is said to have been caused by lack of tyres and tubes for trucks supposed to haul the fuel to Tanga.

The statement warned that unless the BP (T) and other authorities gave the factory the necessary support to ensure sufficient daily oil deliveries, production stoppage might take longer.

It also called for the supply of tubes and tyres to the transporters.

Quarry operations at the factory would continue to stockpile sufficient raw materials before the kiln resumes operation.

The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Water and Energy, Ndugu Athuman Janguo, said at the weekend emergency measures had been taken to provide the needed tyres and tubes.

He explained that the measures followed a directive by the Prime Minister's Office that tyres and tubes be supplied to enable tankers to transport oil to the factory as soon as possible.

Efforts to contact officials of the factory for comment on whether oil supplies had resumed were not successful.

The factory, with a production capacity of 1,600 tonnes started operating at the end of 1980. It is a subsidiary of the Tanzania Saruji Corporation (TSC).

CLD: 3400/487

MORE THAN 2,000 LOCALLY MADE HAND HOES DISTRIBUTED

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 29 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by Tiruhungwa Michael]

[Text] More than two million hand hoes manufactured locally have been distributed to the regions, with Mwanza and Shinyanga getting the biggest share.

According to a spokesman of the Ministry of Industries, 2,464,542 hoes were distributed to the 20 mainland regions and Zanzibar between January and December 20 this year. The national annual demand is 3.5 million hoes.

The spokesman said 2,318,139 hoes were manufactured by the Ubungo Farm Implement (UFI), 137,330 by Mbeya Farm Implements factory (ZZK), 6,675 by the Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) and 2,398 by the Metal and Engineering Industries Development Association (MEIDA).

The distribution breakdown shows that Mwanza got 359,225 and Shinyanga 247,975 hoes compared to the distribution target of 518,496 and 404,755 respectively, set by UFI at the beginning of the year.

Other regions with big shares include Tabora (158,000), Kagera (157,893), Kigoma (155,900) and Arusha (152,702) while Zanzibar, Lindi, Coast and Mtwara have less than forty thousand hoes each.

The distribution to other regions is as follows: Tanga (129,520), Iringa (121,975), Dodoma (120,385), Mara (116,145), Kilimanjaro (112,664), and Morogoro (93,312).

Lindi received 22,000 hoes to Dar es Salaam (44,928), Coast (30,657), Mbeya (68,202), Rukwa (68,689), Ruvuma (51,464), Singida (64,887), Mtwara (22,700) and Zanzibar (18,312).

CSO: 3400/487

TANZANIA

BRIEFS

NORWEGIAN GRANT--Norway is to grant Tanzania about 75m/- to finance four projects under an agreement signed in Dar es Salaam yesterday by the Norwegian Ambassador to Tanzania, Nudgu Ola Dorum, and the Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Ndugu Fulgence Kazaura. The grant would finance projects by the Tanzania Coastal Shipping Line (TACOSCHILI), Forestry Division of the University of Dar es Salaam and the construction of residential houses for Norwegian expatriates in Rukwa and Dar es Salaam. [Text] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 28 Dec 83 p 3]

CSO: 3400/487

OUAGADOUGOU'S LEFT FACTIONALISM EXAMINED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3461, 12 Dec 83 p 2875

[Text] FOUR MONTHS AFTER the August coup which brought the Left to power in Upper Volta, there are signs that the marriage of forces which led to the take-over is straining to hold together.

The potential for such tensions was apparent right from the start, when Sankara came to form his government. The two major political tendencies who had helped bring about the downfall of Doctor-Commandant Jean Baptiste Ouedraogo, the Patriotic League for Development (Lipad) and the Union of Communist Struggles (ULC) were called upon to form the government team. The pro-Albanian Voltaic Revolutionary Communist Party (PCRV), another of the parties on the Left, had politely declined to join the process, arguing that a military coup could not serve as a substitute for genuine popular revolution.

This left Lipad and the ULC in the driving seat. Between these two, a struggle developed over which party would secure the "strategic" posts and thus control the principal decision-making centres. Although tensions such as these were at first under the surface, they have gradually come into the open.

Because it had been in legal existence for 10 years during the days of the "liberal" regimes and was better organised than the ULC, Lipad had an early advantage in this battle. (The ULC was only formed shortly after Colonel Zerbo was overthrown.) Added to its relative lack of experience, the ULC had the disadvantage of being a group formed of dissidents and people expelled from the General Union of Voltaic Students (UGEV), which in turn was affiliated to the pro-Albanian party which had declined participation in government.

Elements close to Lipad showed their relative strength on September 13, when a

group of workers, who had formed a Provisional Management Council, seized the Director-General of the Voltaic Electricity Company (Voltelec). A few days later, a planned march on Ouagadougou Town Hall to expel the Mayor was stopped at the last moment by the soldiers in the National Council for the Revolution, possibly because they saw in the move another attempt by Lipad to gather the reins of power by controlling top posts. Such acts may have been interpreted by some members of the (military) National Council for the Revolution (CNR) as a disloyal act.

Since the foiled demonstration, the UPC has openly attempted to gain ground over Lipad. There is now talk in Ouagadougou, for example, of the formal creation of a "Popular and Democratic Union" (UDP). Its Constitutional Congress was to have taken place on November 5, but was called off the day before when top Lipad officials made it clear that they didn't want anyone rocking the boat.

Between Lipad and the new political structures of the CNR, matters are no less tense. The formation of Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs) is seen by some Lipad leaders as a threat to the trade unions' traditional power, a power which has on occasions in the past led to the making or breaking of a regime. Lipad, which controls the largest and most radical union, the Voltaic Union Confederation (CSV), led by Soumane Touré, has seen this threat as in some ways a direct attack on itself.

The results of these political intrigues may ultimately depend on what position the military men take, and in this regard a number of alternative theories are posited. One says that the squabbles suit the military men very well; they can stand above them and maintain unified and ultimate power. Another, more worrying scenario,

is that the soldiers might begin to side with one group or another; some even see the possibility of armed conflict breaking out.

But one conclusion is less open to speculation. The internal difficulties currently on display could be to the advantage of those traditional power brokers whose dominance of the political scene for 23

years has assured them of much background support. Captain Sankara understands this danger only too well, and he has called many times for Unity of the Left. In order to achieve this, he may have to stand at an equal distance from all the political tendencies bent on "factionalism". Which will not be an easy task.

CSO: 3400/470

TPR SELECTION FOR TRIAL OF THIRD REPUBLIC

AB021430 Ouagadougou Domestic Service in French 0730 GMT 1 Jan 84

[Excerpts] The trial of the officials of the Third Republic and the Military Committee of Recovery for National Progress [CMRPN] begins within 2 days. In our previous casts, you heard the comments of the government's spokesman on the issue. On Thursday, the national secretary general of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution [CDR] granted an interview to the press. During this interview, he raised the issue of who will sit on the People's Revolutionary Tribunals [TPR]. We are asking you to listen again to a communique issued by the national general secretariat of the CDR on this same issue. It is read by NDL [expansion unknown] Ouedraogo Amadi.

[Begin recording] In order to draw the final list of the members of the TPR and to prevent rotten reactionary and counterrevolutionary elements from infiltrating popular institutions, the national general secretariat of the CDR invites all the militants of the democratic and popular revolution to participate actively in the establishment of the TPR's by forwarding to the national general secretariat of the CDR what they know about the following comrades appointed on behalf of the people to sit on the TPR's.

All the militants are hereby reminded that the members of the TPR's must satisfy the following conditions in accordance with the guidelines fixed by the national general secretariat of the CDR: They must be true and dedicated revolutionaries who are devoted to the course of the revolution. They must have integrity. They must have very high morals. They must be at least 18 years old and must have the courage of their own judgment. They must not have been a known activist of any former political party and must not have already held any form of political post in the former reactionary regimes. They must not have been jailed for criminal or minor offenses, such as misappropriation, absenteeism, mistrust, and theft. They must not have been prosecuted for criminal or minor offenses. The information must reach the national general secretariat of the CDR by 7 January 1984 at the latest.

Administrative authorities and the commanders of gendarmerie posts are requested to see to the rapid dispatch of the messages by way of telecommunications or by post. Revolutionary vigilance is a condition necessary for blocking the way for reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries who might infiltrate the TPR's in order to prevent the rendering of true justice to the people.

The fatherland or death! We will overcome! [End recording]

CSO: 3419/284

BRIEFS

CEAO LIVESTOCK, YELLOW FEVER GRANT--On 4 November, Moussa Ngom, secretary general of the West African Economic Community (CEAO) handed over to Finance Minister Justin Damo Barro two checks for a total of 190 million CFA francs. The first check of 140 million CFA francs will be used to rebuild our livestock while the second will go to the yellow fever prevention program. In addition to Minister Barro, the presentation ceremony, held in the finance minister's office, was attended by Eugene Talata Dondasse, the minister of plan, by Maj Abdoul Salam Kabore, minister of health and by officials from their respective ministries. After the signing ceremony, Roger Nikiema, press director of the CEAO, read the following press communique: as an expression of the solidarity which characterizes social and economic relations between the member states of the community, the Ninth Conference of Heads of States held in Niamey on 30 and 31 October 1983 decided to give a grant of 800 million CFA francs to the five member states, of this organization, which were victims of the drought to be mostly used to rebuild their livestock. The sum was drawn from the earnings of investments made by the FOSIDEC Expansion unknown Guarantee Fund. Excerpt Ouagadoudou L'OBSERVATEUR in French
7 Nov 83 p 8/ 8796

OUEDRAOGO DENOUNCES 'SAGES'--The Secretary General of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution, Pierre Ouedraogo, visited towns near the Ivory Coast border recently, notably Niangoloko, and denounced "the guardians of imperialist interests in West Africa." "These so-called sages," M. Ouedraogo continued, "should understand that the Voltaic revolution is irreversible". He went on to denounce two Voltaic politicians who had taken refuge in Ivory Coast since the August 4 coup, Frederic Guirma, former Ambassador to the UN, and Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo, leader of the (banned) Progressive Front Party. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3460, 5 Dec 83 p 2850]

CSO: 3400/459

BRIEFS

KAUNDA MEETS SWEDISH DELEGATION--His Excellency the President, Dr Kaunda, yesterday received a 5-man delegation from Sweden comprising two members of parliament and two Foreign Ministry officials led by Swedish Ambassador to Zambia (Sveker Akesson) at (Chichela Lodge) at (Mpuwo) in the Luangwa national game park. The president said during the meeting that Zambia valued the relationship existing between the two countries and described them as first class, based on deep-rooted principles, and praised Sweden for her assistance to the liberation movements in Southern Africa. Dr Kaunda said Zambia valued the friendship with Sweden because of that country's foreign policy, which is based on respect for humanity, and he pointed out that Sweden's example of outstanding foreign policy had helped to influence other Scandinavian countries of (?NATO) and other groups to change their foreign policy for the better. He said that he was still awaiting the visit to Zambia by the Swedish king and queen who had been invited sometime back. [Text] [MB090935 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 9 Jan 84]

CSO: 3400/493

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